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NEW TIMES

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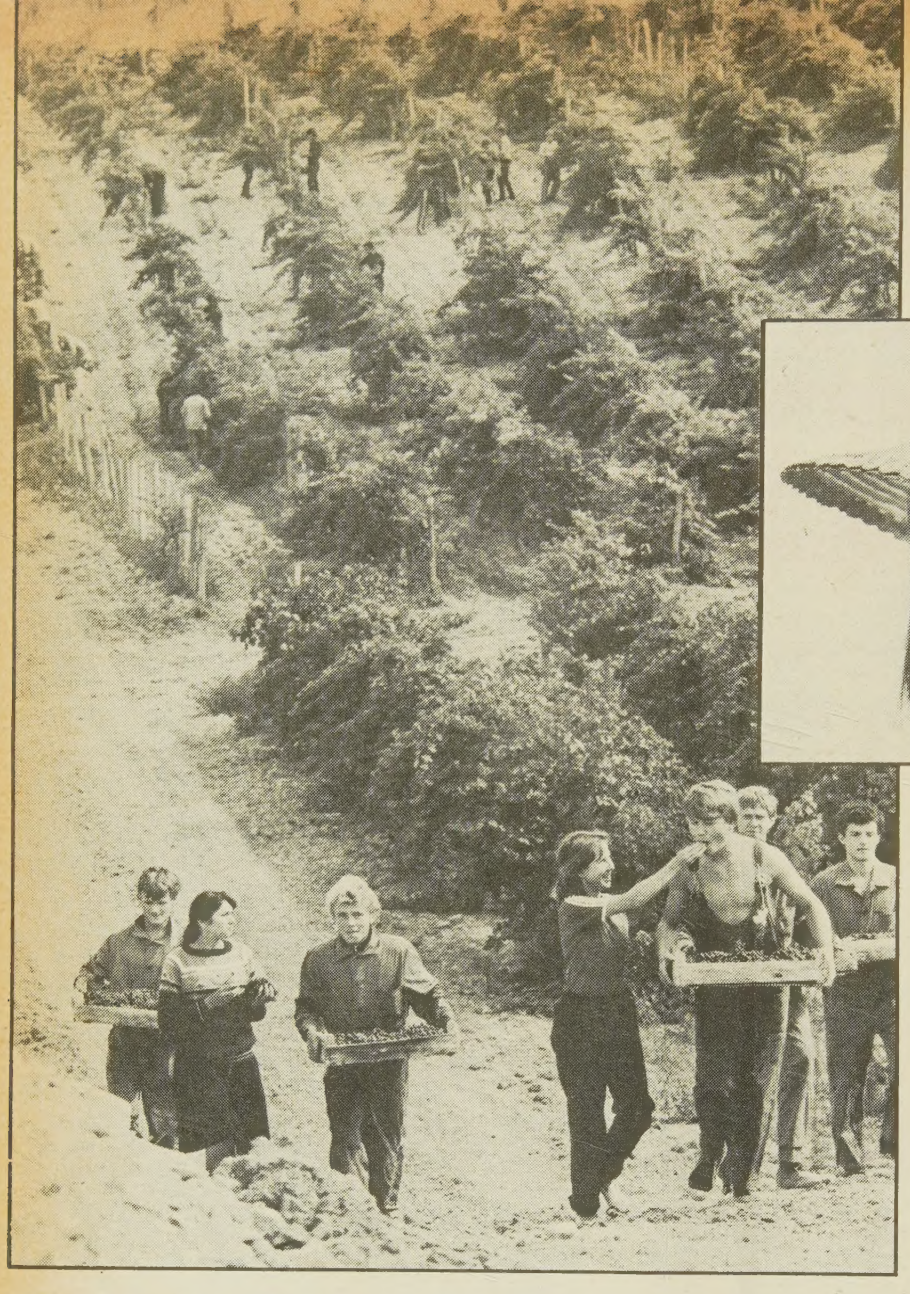
THE NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT IN HARARE



Picking grapes at the Kavkaz State Farm, whose vineyards climb the picturesque hills that ring the Sukko Valley.

Elena Nekrasova, who has come to the camp with the Kuzbas Youth song and dance group, in which she plays the guitar, will be a dressmaker after completing the course at her vocational school in Novokuznetsk.

Grapes, regrettably, do not grow on the sandy dunes of the windswept Baltic coast or in the taiga forests of Siberia, whence these boys and girls hail. Of course, grapes can be bought in shops, but can they compare with these sun-kissed clusters they themselves have picked?

Young Worker, a short distance from the Black Sea resort town of Anapa, is one of the many work and relaxation camp complexes organized for students of technical vocational schools. Here boys and girls spend a daily four hours doing various jobs: building new premises, or helping local farmers to bring in the crops. After which come the briny waves of the warm Black Sea, of which they had dreamed during their long winter evenings. Or they can compete on the playing field with their peers from other parts of the country and make new friends.

They will soon be completing their training at their respective vocational schools and start working as masons, fitters, spinners or weavers. The Black Sea sunshine, the games they play and the jobs they do so enthusiastically will only increase their verve and vigour.

These girls from Estonia and Novokuznetsk in Siberia, having exchanged souvenirs after playing football, are now rooting for their new friends.

Photos by Y. Abramochkin

STATEMENT
by MIKHAIL GORBACHEV
on Soviet Television

Good evening, dear comrades.

At our meeting today I would like to make a statement on one of the key issues in international politics.

The Soviet unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing, which the Soviet Union strictly observed for one year, expired several days ago, on August 6.

On what did it rest, what prompted that decision, so very important and, I would say, difficult one for us to make?

In brief, it was based on the realities of the nuclear space age.

What are they? How do we regard them?

Firstly. Mountains of nuclear and various other types of weaponry have been piled up; yet the arms race is not abating, but gaining speed. There has emerged the threat of it being extended to outer space. The militarization of the United States and the entire NATO bloc is being carried out post-haste.

It is important to stress that the pace of development of military technology is so high that it leaves ever less time for peoples, states and politicians to become aware of the real danger, and limits mankind's ability to halt the slide towards the nuclear abyss. Time is pressing. Otherwise, there will appear such sophisticated arms systems as will make agreement on their control altogether impossible.

The situation is becoming ever more intolerable. Today, it is not enough to preserve the existing treaties. Major practical steps capable of curbing militarism and reversing the course of developments for the better are needed. The "balance of fear" is ceasing to be a deterring factor. It is not only because fear in general is no adviser to reason and could prompt actions with unpredictable consequences. This fear is a direct participant in the arms race: by increasing mistrust and suspicion, it forms a vicious circle of heightened tension. There are many examples to that effect.

It is now clear as clear can be that the old notions of war as a means of attaining political objectives have become outdated. In the nuclear age these obsolete tenets feed the policy that may lead to a worldwide conflagration.

Secondly. Our moratorium decision rested on the dedication of socialism as a social system to the cause of peace and on the profound understanding of its responsibility for the fate of civilization. The Soviet Union, as a socialist state and nuclear power, regards it as its supreme duty to do everything possible to save the peaceful future of the planet.

Our striving to transfer the course of international development to the tracks of détente is consonant with our philosophy, our socialist morality. In the nuclear age, saving the Earth from atomic annihilation is a universal task, the cause of all peoples.

Thirdly. The present-day world is complicated, diverse and contradictory. At the same time it is becoming, objectively, ever more interdependent and integral. This peculiarity of the human community at the end of the 20th century cannot be disregarded in foreign policy if one is to build this policy on a realistic basis. Otherwise, there will be no normal international relations, they will be doomed to instability and, ultimately, to catastrophic confrontation.

Thinking of the pre-nuclear age in fact lost its significance on August 6, 1945. Today it is impossible to ensure one's own security without taking into account the security of other states and peoples. There can be no genuine security unless it is equal for all and comprehensive. To think otherwise means to live in a world of illusions, in a world of self-deception.

The new way of thinking, required by the present-day world, is incompatible with the notion of it being someone's domain or with the attempts to show others "a kindness" by one's patronage and instructions on how to behave and what path to choose—socialist, capitalist or another.

The Soviet Union believes that each people, each country has the right to be master of its own destiny, its resources, to determine independently its social development, defend its own security and participate in the establishment of a comprehensive system of international security.

The aggravation of global problems is also characteristic of today's world. They can be resolved only by pooling the efforts of all states and peoples. The exploration of outer space and the ocean depths, ecology and epidemics, poverty and backwardness are the realities of the age, which require international attention, international responsibility and international cooperation.

Many new world processes have thus been tied into a tight knot. Disarmament could play an immense role here by releasing considerable funds, intellectual and technical potential for constructive purposes.

Our foreign policy draws inspiration from the fact that the conviction is asserting itself in the minds of people, political and public forces of diverse orientation and outlook around the world that the very existence of the human race is at stake and the time for resolute and responsible actions has come. It calls for utmost mobilization of reason and common sense.

Two tragedies involving the nuclear-space age technology happened lately: the death of the Challenger crew and the accident at the Chernobyl atomic power plant. They increased the anxiety in the world and were a brutal reminder of the fact that people are only beginning to master the fantastically potent forces they had themselves brought in action and are only learning to make them serve progress. These events gave an object lesson in what would happen should nuclear weapons be used.

Everyone, above all statesmen, should draw concrete and clear conclusions from that. The main lesson, probably, is that weapons devised by man should never be used and that it is today simply suicidal to build interstate relations on the illusion of gaining superiority in terrible weapons of destruction.

The complete elimination of these weapons is the only way towards genuine peace. Embarking on this path means to pass a historic maturity exam. This applies to all political leaders who have come to be entrusted with this lofty humane mission.

One has to learn to face the facts with courage: experts have estimated that the explosion of the smallest nuclear warhead is equal in radioactivity to three Chernobyls. Most likely, this is true. If that is so, the explosion of even a small part of the existing nuclear arsenal will become a catastrophe, an irreversible catastrophe. And if someone still dares make a first nuclear strike, he will doom himself to agonizing death—not even from a retaliatory strike, but from the consequences of the explosion of his own warheads.

This is neither propaganda nor political improvization, nor the whipping up of "fears." This is reality. It is simply irresponsible to reject it, and criminal to disregard it.

An objective and honest analysis of all these realities calls for other approaches to world politics. They underlie the principled conclusions we have drawn recently, especially at the 27th Congress of the CPSU.

Soviet foreign policy, including disarmament issues, is based on the understanding of the profound changes in the world.

We believe that the Soviet proposals of January 15, 1986, on eliminating nuclear weapons worldwide by the year 2000 fully meet the demands of the times.

We have displayed readiness to search for a compromise solution to the problems that are causing controversy and suspicion.

The Soviet Union has tabled a package of constructive proposals at the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space armaments.

Jointly with our Warsaw Treaty allies, we have submitted a package of measures for reducing the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. In this sphere, too, we want advancement—mutual and steady—towards lower and less dangerous levels of military confrontation.

New proposals have been made relating to chemical weapons, which, in our view, make it possible to sign before the year's end, or next year, a convention on banning chemical weapons and eliminating their stockpiles, as well as the industrial base for their manufacture.

At the Stockholm conference the socialist countries, constructively cooperating with other participants, did a great deal to find solutions to such key issues as non-use of force, notification about military exercises and troop movement, exchange of annual plans of military activity, invitation of observers, and inspection.

We have advanced a broad platform for ensuring security and cooperation in the Asian-Pacific region, and we invite all to participate in this process.

We have displayed initiative to cooperate with all interested states in what concerns the establishment of international safeguards for nuclear power development.

We recently submitted to the United Nations, as an alternative to the "star wars" programme, a programme of building "star peace," of setting up a world space organization.

The 27th CPSU Congress formulated the basic principles of a comprehensive system of international security which is the most generalized expression of our new approaches to foreign policy. The other day the group of socialist countries submitted the question of creating such a system for consideration by the next session of the U.N. General Assembly.

At the same time I want to stress that we understand that, no matter how important and significant our proposals might be and how committed we are to them, we will not be able to achieve all that on our own. International security is a common problem and, therefore, a common concern and a common responsibility.

When working out our proposals, we study and take into account the points of view and initiatives of other governments, public and political movements. We are very careful about providing for the equal security of all at each stage of the implementation of the proposals. And still, we by no means regard them as final, as no longer subject to discussion. The way out of the deadlocks of confrontation lies through dialogues and contacts, discussions and talks. Only in this way can the ice of mutual mistrust be thawed and practical results achieved.

This is what determines our attitude to the problem of control during the solution of all disarmament problems. For instance, when we put forward our proposal on the discontinuation of all nuclear explosions we said that we had no objections to international control. Our consent to the installation of American monitoring devices in the area of Semipalatinsk is convincing proof of this. It would seem that the problem of control has ceased to be an obstacle to reaching agreements. However, it is still persistently used with a view to concealing the true stance—the unwillingness to disarm.

People of good will welcomed our decision concerning the moratorium on nuclear testing. We heard words of approval and support from all parts of the world. Politicians and parliamentarians, public figures and mass organizations saw this step as an example of the correct approach to present-day problems and as hope for removing the fear of a nuclear catastrophe. The Soviet moratorium was approved by the U.N. General Assembly, the world's most representative forum of countries.

We were supported by outstanding scientists—physicists and medics—who understand the nuclear danger better than anyone else. I saw for myself at the recent meeting with scientists in Moscow that our moratorium had inspired scientific workers from various countries to vigorous action.

However, all these obvious and encouraging manifestations of new thinking are coming up against the militarization of political thinking, primarily in the United States. The political mentality of the Western ruling circles is dangerously lagging behind the process of profound changes in international life, while scientific and technological progress rapidly outpaces social and moral progress.

The right-wing militarist circles in the U.S., which represent the powerful

military-industrial complex, are just crazy about the arms race. Their interest in it seems to be threefold: they seek to prevent depletion of the flow of profits coming from arms manufacture, to secure military superiority for the U.S., to try to exhaust the Soviet Union economically and to weaken it politically, and, in the long run, to ensure for the U.S. key positions in the world, to realize long-sought great-power ambitions and further to pursue a policy of plunder with regard to developing countries.

Hence the foreign policy, which with all its intricacies and verbal camouflage is based, as before, on the following dangerous delusions: underestimation of the Soviet Union, other socialist countries and newly free states, as well as overestimation of its own potentialities that nourishes technological self-confidence and all-permissiveness in politics.

The fact that we take part in the talks is regarded by some American politicians as the result of the growth of U.S. military might and the drawing up of the Strategic Defence Initiative programme.

By basing its policy on such erroneous premises, the U.S. Administration will be unable to embark on the road of honest agreements, of improving the international climate. And yet it will have to consider the realities. They cannot be avoided.

As to our proposals, I repeat that they stem from the realities of the world of today, that they are prompted by the awareness of the lofty responsibility for the fate of humanity, not by weakness.

Such is the situation at the moment. On the one hand, our moratorium is in effect. Our large-scale compromise proposals have been announced and put before various forums. The pressure of the peace forces has increased considerably. Greater attention has been given to the problems of international security by political, including official, circles concerned over the gravity of the situation.

On the other hand, we are faced with the refusal to stop nuclear testing, with stubborn resistance to peace initiatives, ostentatious disregard for the demands of the public and for the opinion of many authoritative parties and organizations. They even ignore the concern of their own allies and their own people.

This is the state of affairs that faces us, the Soviet leaders, at the time of expiry of our moratorium.

What is to be done? What choice is to be made? What decision will be the most correct one, best suiting the situation? What decision will best promote positive processes and lower the threat of military confrontation?

Our people resolutely support the foreign policy of the CPSU, of the Soviet state, and insistently demand that the foreign policy course charted by the 27th Party Congress be continued. At the same time a troubled note justifiably sounds in the letters and comments of Soviet people: is it expedient to adhere to the moratorium when nuclear explosions are carried out in Nevada one after another? Is not the risk too great? Is not the security of our country lessening with time?

Indeed, the United States has been the champion in the number of explosions for 40 years. It set off another 18 nuclear devices within a year of the Soviet moratorium. I repeat: 18, and three of them were not announced. Moreover, as a rule, this was done demonstratively. The explosions were timed now to another Soviet statement on the extension of the moratorium, now to some new Soviet initiative. And we were even invited to Nevada to see how all this happens. It should also be added that the present U.S. Administration is implementing vast military programmes.

In a word, the Soviet Union has sufficient reasons for resuming its nuclear tests. And yet we are convinced even now that the ending of nuclear tests not only by the Soviet Union but also by the United States would be a real breakthrough in arresting the nuclear arms race, would speed up the elimination of nuclear arms. The logic here is simple: if there are no tests, the nuclear weapons which both sides have stockpiled in abundance will not be upgraded.

The same opinion is evident in the appeals to the United States and the Soviet Union by a considerable and authoritative part of the world community. It includes the Delhi Six, the permanently operating forum of leaders of countries in four continents—Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Tanzania and Sweden.

In Ixtapa the other day they adopted the Mexico Declaration which again calls for an end to all nuclear explosions. Such is also the demand of most non-aligned countries.

We have received messages from politicians and public figures, from individuals and organizations in many countries, including the United States and other NATO members. They, too, ask us not to resume nuclear testing, to give those who insist on nuclear explosions one more chance to see reason.

We are certainly aware, and I have spoken about that already, that the forces which do not want to disarm are acting vigorously in the U.S.A. Moreover, they are doing everything to draw us in ever new spirals of the arms race, to provoke us into slamming the door at the talks.

But we would like to hope that realism and the awareness of the necessity of joint search for ways to improve the international situation, to end the senseless arms race, to eliminate nuclear weapons will prevail in U.S. assessments and actions.

At the same time we know with whom we are dealing. Therefore the security of our country is sacred to us. This must be clear to all. This is a matter of principle.

We proceed from this, answering any challenge from the United States, including the notorious SDI. Let them not hope to intimidate us or compel us to make needless expenditures. If need be, we shall come up with a prompt answer, and it will not be what the United States expects. But it will be an answer that will depreciate the "star wars" programme.

I am saying that with one aim: let the U.S. Administration again and again weigh the real value of the new military programmes and of the arms race as a whole from the standpoint of the interests of the U.S.A. and its security. For, as a matter of fact, the main harm done by the SDI is that it undermines the prospects for talks and extends the zone of mistrust. Herein lies the whole problem. It is no less political than a military one. Therefore we again call for advancing from a world saturated with arms to a world without arms.

Thus, comrades, the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government have thoroughly and scrupulously weighed all the pros and cons, and, guided by responsibility for the fate of the world, have decided to **prolong the unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions till January 1, 1987.**

In taking this step, we believe that people in all countries, political quarters and the international community will correctly evaluate the long silence on the Soviet nuclear test ranges.

On behalf of the Soviet people, I am appealing to the wisdom and dignity of the Americans not to miss another historic chance on the way towards ending the arms race.

I am asking U.S. President Ronald Reagan to evaluate once again, without bias, the situation which has taken shape, to discard everything extraneous, cast off delusions about the Soviet Union and its foreign policy.

The Soviet Union is confident that agreements on ending nuclear tests can be reached speedily and signed **this very year at the Soviet-American summit meeting.** That event would undoubtedly become **the main real outcome of the meeting,** a considerable step towards ending the arms race.

It would be a kind of prologue to further progress at the talks on nuclear weapons and on their elimination, to a radical improvement of the world situation.

Being an action and not just a proposal, the Soviet Union's moratorium on nuclear blasts proves in deed the seriousness and sincerity of our nuclear disarmament programme, of our calls for a new policy—a policy of realism, peace and cooperation.

More than half of 1986, which was declared the Year of Peace by the United Nations, has gone. By extending its unilateral moratorium, the Soviet Union is making another weighty contribution to the common striving to ensure that this year becomes worthy of its name.

This is the essence of the Soviet Union's new political initiative.

This is the message which our country is sending to the governments and peoples of all countries, above all to the government of the United States and the American people.

Thank you. Goodbye.

(Pravda, August 19, 1986)

NEW TIMES

A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

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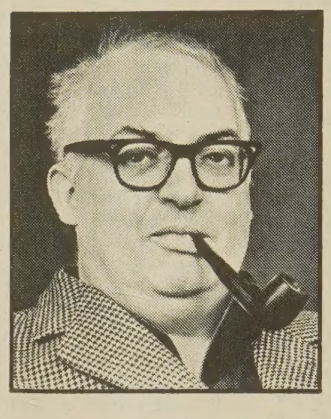
The eighth non-aligned summit opened in Harare, the capital of Zimbabwe, on August 26.

Photo by B. Pilyatskin

REMEMBER BABYLON

In the play "An Angel Comes to Babylon," by the distinguished Swiss writer Friedrich Dürrenmatt, the failure of people to find a common language results in universal catastrophe. "Babylon has an edifying message for us all," Dürrenmatt says. "We must break down the wall of distrust and suspicion and stop to think about what we are doing to the Earth."



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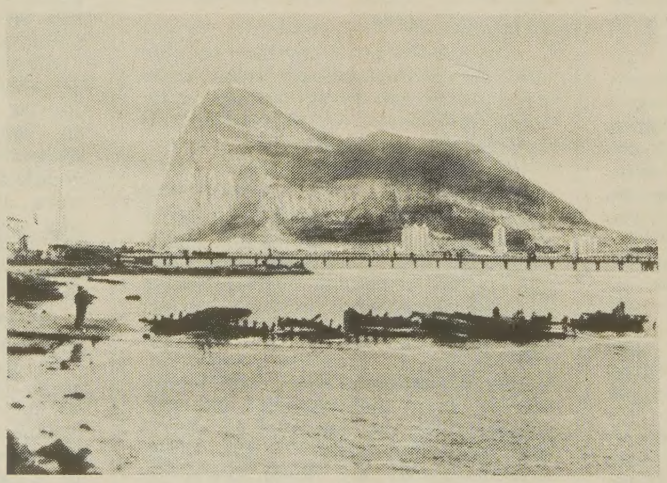

ROCK OF CONTENTION

Gibraltar, a narrow limestone cliff only 6.5 sq. km. in area, overlooking the exit from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, is a British colony. For centuries it has been the cause of disputes and collisions. What is the outlook for Gibraltar?

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HIGH GROWTH RATES

It is estimated that if there were no restructuring of the economy the average annual growth rate of the national income in the U.S.S.R. in the 12th five-year-plan period would not exceed 2.5 per cent, in the 13th five-year-plan period, 2 per cent, and in the 14th, 1.5 per cent. The growth rate provided for in the current five-year plan is considerably higher. Are the tasks facing the country feasible? How are they to be carried out? In addition to high growth rates a new approach to the management of the economy is needed.

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WHY FLIGHT 007 STRAYED

Three years ago a South Korean Boeing airliner was sent on a spy mission into Soviet airspace. The organizers of this provocation cannot be forgiven the resultant death of unsuspecting airline passengers. The latest evidence relating to this criminal conspiracy is dealt with in a dispatch from New York.

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The Delhi Six:

We Highly Appreciate the Sense of Responsibility Displayed by the U.S.S.R.

Previously few had ever heard of the holiday resort town of Ixtapa on the Pacific coast of Mexico. Now it is known to many as the venue of the early August meeting of the leaders of the Delhi Six—Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Tanzania and Sweden—who are actively working to bring about an end to nuclear tests and to remove the threat of nuclear war. The six leaders signed their Mexico Declaration, an impressive anti-militarist manifesto reflecting the growing concern for the future of civilization.

Peace, Disarmament and Development

This was the motto of a forum of scientific and cultural workers, political leaders and publicists representing world public opinion which was held in Mexico on the eve of the meeting of the Six. This forum was attended also by a Soviet delegation. The emblem of the round table—two hands extended for a friendly hand clasp—was a fitting symbol for the gathering.

Despite differences of views on a number of issues, the participants were unanimous on the most important thing: the need for maximum support for the peace initiatives put forward by the Delhi Six.

Opening the round table, the Mexican Foreign Minister, Bernardo Sepulveda, stressed that the responsibility for the fate of peace rests not only with the government, but also with international public opinion. Central to the discussion was the search for ways and means of preventing nuclear war and safeguarding peace. The fact that in nuclear war there can be no victors was underscored by Jerome Wiesner, a scientific adviser to Presidents John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson, the prominent Indian expert of peaceful uses of nuclear energy M. K. Menon, and co-president of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War Bernard Lown. Practically all the participants in the round table noted the significance of the Soviet moratorium on all nuclear explosions. "But the Soviet Union cannot endlessly prolong its unilateral moratorium: it is essential that the U.S. should respond," Professor Yoshikazu Sakamoto of Tokyo University said. Washington, as is known, refuses to join in the moratorium proposed by the U.S.S.R., questioning the feasibility of the verification of the observance of agreements prohibiting underground nuclear explosions. The fallacy of this position was emphatically demonstrated by the U.S. physicist Thomas Cochran, who had taken part in the installation of seismic equipment in the area of Semipalatinsk, a Soviet city. Recalling a recent meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and representatives of an international forum of scientists for the ending of nuclear testing, the American physicist said: "In the nuclear age it is impermissible to think in terms of outdated categories; a new philosophy of peace is needed. This is clearly realized by the Soviet leader. But, unfortunately, the same cannot be said of the President of the United States."

The decision to prolong its unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions until January 1, 1987, is the Soviet Union's reply to calls issued by a substantial and authoritative part of the world community—the Delhi Six, the non-aligned movement, and political and public leaders, individuals and organizations of many countries.

The American "star wars" programme was sharply criticized by many participants in the round table. "SDI is a first-strike weapon and in the event of the militarization of outer space the Soviet Union will be compelled to take countermeasures," former Peruvian Foreign Minister and Minister of Defence General Edgardo Mercado Jarrin said. "I would like to remind you that on January 15 the U.S.S.R. put forward a comprehensive plan for the elimination of nuclear weapons throughout the world by the end of this century."

The Call from Ixtapa

The opening ceremony of the meeting of the Delhi Six took place in the conference hall of the Cristal Hotel where they stopped during their stay in Ixtapa. On the platform were Tanzania's first President Julius Nyerere, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India, President Raul Alfonsin of Argentina, President Miguel de la Madrid of Mexico, Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou of Greece and Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson of Sweden.

A bevy of children wearing the national costumes of the six countries burst into the conference hall and the little Ixtapa girl Melisa Garcia addressed the statesmen present in these words: "We all love the sun and flowers and want to live without fear of being killed."

The well-known American sci-fi writer Carl Sagan cited frightening statistics: the use of only one third of the present nuclear arsenals would spell immediate death for 1-2 billion people. "If the Martians or other extraterrestrial visitors should come to our earth they would be sure that mankind has gone out of its mind," he said. But humanity has another, rational option. The 1963 partial test ban treaty testifies that agreement between nuclear powers is possible.

Profound in meaning and deeply emotional in form was the fiery speech delivered by the prominent Colombian writer Gabriel Garcia Marquez. He spoke of how the life of the peoples of the developing countries would change if even a part of the hundreds of billions swallowed up by the arms buildup was channelled to the solution of pressing problems of their economic development, to do away with hunger and disease. His own continent was being strangled in the noose of foreign indebtedness. Why should swords not be forged into ploughshares? Marquez cited an im-

pressive comparison. With the cost of ten Nimitz aircraft carriers out of the fifteen the U.S. will build by the year 2000, a preventive programme to protect over a billion persons from malaria could be implemented during the same fourteen years and prevent the death—in Africa alone—of more than fourteen million children. Just two atomic submarines would be enough to try to achieve the dream of literacy worldwide.

It is symbolic that the six-nation meeting opened on the 41st anniversary of the first atomic bombing by the United States.

In his talk with us Julius Nyerere stressed that in the matter of ending nuclear tests it is up to Washington to make the next move. "The problem," he said, "can only be solved when the U.S. Administration, the present or a future one, realizes that it cannot ignore public opinion." Public opinion in the U.S., however, is subjected to all manner of misinformation. Nyerere observed that few in the U.S. know that the Soviet Union is observing a unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests.

This writer had a talk with President Raul Alfonsin of Argentina, who said that he was convinced of the sincerity of the dedication of the Soviet leadership to peace and that the Soviet moratorium on nuclear explosions is the decisive precondition for the abolition of nuclear weapons. Alfonsin sharply criticized U.S. policy in Central America, qualifying the allocation of $100 million to finance the bandit actions of the contras as gross interference in the internal affairs of sovereign Nicaragua.

Let us return to the conference hall in the Cristal Hotel. The Mexico Declaration drawn up by the six nations is being read out. From the rostrum resound the words of this outstanding document: "we are determined to work towards the active participation of countries which, like ours, do not possess nuclear arsenals, in all aspects of the struggle for disarmament... the responsibility for the protection of our planet rests with all peoples inhabiting it... we voice our certainty that at the present time there is no task more urgent and important than that of putting an end at long last to all nuclear tests, which are giving impetus to the arms race... we continue to urge that the unilateral moratorium of one of the two great nuclear powers be made at least a bilateral moratorium ... we once again issue a call to prevent an arms race in outer space." The leaders of the six countries sign the Declaration and then one after the other rise to speak. The keynote of all is termination of nuclear tests, preventing the militarization of outer space, and safeguarding the planet from a nuclear conflagration.

The participants in the Ixtapa meeting gave a high appraisal of the peace policy of the Soviet Union, a policy pervaded by concern for the welfare of humanity. "In response to our call, the Soviet Union unilaterally accepted a moratorium on nuclear tests and twice extended it," Rajiv Gandhi said. "We commend the Soviet Union and deeply appreciate the earnestness they have shown." Julius Nyerere said: "We appreciate the unilateral moratorium which the Soviet Union has repeatedly prolonged."

At the opening of the meeting of the Delhi Six in Ixtapa. On the rostrum is the writer Gabriel Garcia Marquez delivering a speech of welcome.

AP-TASS photo

At the press conference after the close of the summit meeting, Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou of Greece was asked what he considered the most necessary action to lessen international tension and to safeguard our planet against the catastrophe threatening it. He replied: "At this moment, the most important step is the halting of nuclear tests along with a proper verification system." It was announced that the Delhi Six had sent messages to Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan and offered their services in the creation of a mechanism for control over the observance of the ban on nuclear tests.

Opposite Approaches

No sooner had we arrived in Mexico City after a flight of less than an hour from Ixtapa on board a plane carrying the Mexican presidential emblem, than it became known that Washington had rejected out of hand the constructive proposals advanced by the six nations. A State Department spokesman had said in vague terms that the conclusion of an agreement on total and general prohibition of nuclear weapon tests remained the long-term aim of the United States. Not the immediate objective as all mankind wants, but a remote prospect! Dismissing with imperial arrogance the call issued by the leaders of the six countries, the U.S. official said that in the opinion of Washington the proposal for a moratorium does not make for greater stability and will not reduce the danger of outbreak of war.

The White House considers the strengthening of stability to be a matter of continuing the nuclear explosions in Nevada, of pursuing a course aimed at the full realization of its strategic nuclear buildup programme, and of carrying out the "star wars" programme.

The nuclear ambitions of the U.S. military-industrial complex have as their concomitant aggressive actions in the spirit of the doctrine of neoglobalism. The bandit actions against Third World countries undertaken immediately after the Ixtapa meeting—the encouragement of the Israeli aggression, the pirate raids made by racist South Africa against Angola, and the approval by the U.S. Senate of military aid for the contras for waging war against Nicaragua—can only be qualified as provocations.

Efforts are also being made to impose U.S. diktat on members of the Delhi Six. For instance, during the Mexican President's visit to Washington immediately after the Ixtapa meeting no secret was made of Washington's intention to capitalize on the astronomic for-

eign debt of Mexico to change its independent foreign policy course.

Pressure and blackmail are combined with insulting sallies against the southern neighbour. The shameless anti-Mexican "hearings," organized in the U.S. Senate by the die-hard reactionary and interventionist Jesse Helms, have evoked indignation in Mexico. The U.S. public is told that Mexico presents a threat to the United States, the "wet-backs," as Mexican immigrants are called in the U.S., supposedly depriving 100 per cent Yankees of their livelihood.

But there are also other social forces in the U.S. that cannot ignore the obvious fact that by its demonstratively obstructionist policy towards the Delhi Six Washington is increasingly discrediting itself in the eyes of the Third World especially now, on the eve of the conference of the non-aligned movement in Harare.

The Ixtapa meeting found a wide positive response among the developing countries, which underscore the diametrically opposite attitudes of the Soviet Union and the United States to the six-nation initiative.

The realistic, peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is consonant with the high-minded principles of the authors of the Mexico Declaration.

As Mikhail Gorbachev pointed out in his television appearance on August 18, our foreign policy is inspired by the fact that everywhere in the world there is a growing awareness among the peoples and political and social forces of the most diverse orientation that what is at stake is the very survival of the human race, that the time has come for resolute and responsible action. And this calls for the total mobilization of reason and common sense. The by no means simple decision taken by the Soviet Union to prolong once more its unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions, this time until January 1, 1987, takes account of the desire for peace of all nations, the Delhi Six and the whole of the non-aligned movement included.

In the present-day complex and contradictory, but at the same time ever more interdependent and integral world, the way to overcome confrontation lies only through dialogue and contacts, discussions and negotiations. Only in this way, Mikhail Gorbachev has said, can the ice of mutual distrust be melted and practical results achieved. "International security," he said, "is a common problem and, therefore, a common concern and a common responsibility." This truth is borne out also by the Ixtapa meeting, and the reaction worldwide to the activity of the Delhi Six.

Professor
K. KHACHATUROV

Mexico City — Ixtapa — Moscow
August

The Harare Summit

In Zimbabwe, August is the last month of winter. In Harare, the capital of Africa's youngest independent state, situated in the south of the continent, mornings are still chilly, and there is even ground frost at times. Nevertheless, the city is buried in verdure, and its numerous parks and gardens abound in roses, camomiles and brightly coloured aloes. But a real pageant of colour is ahead: it will come with spring which starts in September. It is in just this period at the onset of spring, in late August and early September, that the heads of state and government of the non-aligned countries are meeting in the Zimbabwean capital for their eighth conference.

The choice of Harare as the venue for such an important international forum is evidence of Zimbabwe's high prestige in the international arena. The non-aligned countries value the young republic's active involvement in the struggle for peace and disarmament and, especially, for the liberation of the African peoples, against apartheid and racism, and appreciate its resolution and courage in the face of the imperialists' and racists' unceasing attempts to interfere in the affairs of independent states.

The fact that Zimbabwe is a "front-line" state bordering on racist South Africa engaged in subversive activities against the neighbouring sovereign states has its effect on life in the capital and calls for special vigilance. Over the past few weeks, anonymous callers phoned some shops and offices to say that time bombs had been planted on the premises. In this way enemy agents tried to create an atmosphere of anxiety and nervousness on the eve of the non-aligned summit.

Preparations for the summit were completed in good time. The government organizing committee did efficient work.

Witness Mangwende, the Republic's Minister of Foreign Affairs, said that practically all the residents of Harare would be involved in the summit in some way or other. This is to be expected, considering that the capital is playing host to about 6,000 delegates, 8,000 persons accompanying them and over a thousand journalists. Providing accommodation and services for so many visitors gave problems to a relatively small city with a population of about 650,000.

The local authorities did much to put the city in perfect order in time for the guests' arrival. The façades of certain administrative buildings were touched up, and the fleet of taxicabs increased. The house in Angwa Street, badly damaged during the May aggression by South Africa against Zimbabwe, was repaired. By a decision of the City Council, the exhibition of sculpture in the park adjoining the National Gallery has been expanded. In the Gallery itself, works by 400 Zimbabwean artists, selected by means of a special competition, are displayed.

The government of the republic made every effort to organize this important political forum in the best possible way. The well-equipped modern building of the Harare International Conference Centre was erected. It adjoins the capital's largest and most comfortable Sheraton Hotel built with the cooperation of a Yugoslav construction company. The centre's conference hall is of an ingenious design: finished in light-blue tones, it seats 5,200 (not counting the gallery and the press boxes).

The press centre next door to the conference hall conducts live TV and radio broadcasts from the sessions via satellite communication channels and puts international telephone calls through. A special technical service group is responsible for distributing handout literature, and translating and duplicating the proceedings of the summit.

The government reserved all the Harare hotels for late August and early September in advance, and had 32 villas build and 69 rented in the suburbs for heads of state and government.

This is an important but, nevertheless,

technical aspect of preparations for the forum. The main thing is to make such an authoritative conference a success, as Robert Mugabe, Prime Minister of the republic, stressed at a recent session of the Zimbabwe parliament.

A nationwide campaign is being conducted to explain to the people the importance of the summit for the non-aligned countries and its role in the 25-year history of the non-aligned movement. Lectures are given and photographic exhibitions have been arranged in various cities on the themes of the non-aligned movement, its history, its contribution to the fight against the threat of world war, for peace and disarmament, and for the elimination of the last vestiges of colonialism and racism on African soil.

Discussions at the conference centre on problems of war and peace and the situation in the south of Africa: the just struggle of South Africa's blacks against apartheid and the fight for the independence of Namibia. The participants discuss specific forms of material and financial aid to the African National Congress (ANC) and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) which are leading the liberation struggle in the region, as well as the problem of applying various sanctions against the Pretorja regime.

It follows from addresses by statesmen and public figures, and from press reports, that reactionary circles seek to blunt the anti-imperialist edge of the non-aligned movement and make it retreat from its principled positions. Therefore Zimbabwe deems it its task to take a firm and uncompromising stand against imperialist pressure and to protect the historic gains of the non-aligned movement.

"Zimbabwe was fortunate to have had the honour of hosting the Summit," Nathan Shamuyarira, Minister of Information, Posts and Telecommunications, told newsmen, "and of leading the non-aligned movement for the next three years, which was a challenge to a young nation only six years old, and supreme efforts would have to be made to carry the torch and banner of the non-aligned movement."

N. MALYSHEVA

Harare, August

Non-aligned countries support the comprehensive programme for stage-by-stage nuclear disarmament put forward by the Soviet Union

The Record of the Past and a Look into the Future

Notes by a participant in the Delhi seminar

"May there be no more Hiroshimas. The victims of Nagasaki demand from the imperialist powers an answer to the question: for how long must people weep and when will their bright hopes come true at last? The imperialist game with death is inconceivable to me. I call on each and all to save mankind from the nuclear holocaust. . . ."

Translated from Hindi word per word, these lines may sound rather prosaic. Nevertheless, they come from a poem called "The Non-Aligned Movement." Professor Hari Murmahi of Agra University sang it, set to music in traditional Indian style, to the international seminar of research workers and public figures held in Delhi in early August on the initiative of the Indian Institute for Non-Aligned Studies.

This address, unconventional in form, politically expressive and strikingly emotional, brought an ovation from the audience, men and women who had come to Delhi from over 30 countries for the discussion on the subject "Non-Alignment: Retrospects and Prospects."

The very concept of non-alignment, put forward in the mid-1940s by Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of independent India, and the non-aligned movement that grew out of it a quarter of a century ago, gave vivid expression to the newly independent states' desire not only to assert their political autonomy by rejecting the bloc policy of imperialism, but to defend life on earth itself.

As I listened to Professor Murmahi I recalled the programmatic speech delivered by Jawaharlal Nehru in the Indian capital almost 40 years before, not long after the tragedies of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. "The choice today before the world," he said then, "is a choice which has never been posed before. It is choice of self-extinction or survival." In that speech he linked the non-aligned movement with the fight against the nuclear threat: he insisted on "directing all our energies and all our strength to the prevention of that catastrophe."

So the poem, sung by the scientist in the city graced by the exquisite snow-white Taj Mahal, was not only an appeal to save that wonder of human civilization but, perhaps, the political essence of the non-aligned movement. The very first conference of the heads of state and government of non-aligned countries (Belgrade, 1961), of which there were then only 25, stressed that peaceful coexistence was the only alternative to total nuclear catastrophe. Since then the principles of peaceful coexistence remain the firm political and legal foundation of the movement, which has always opposed the nuclear threat.

This clear-cut stand is embodied in the practical political steps taken by the movement, which now unites 102 countries. Non-aligned countries have advanced a number of proposals for the establishment of nuclear-free and

peace zones. They have demanded on more than one occasion that the nuclear arms race be halted, the road to disarmament embarked upon, nuclear tests stopped and the militarization of outer space prevented. The efforts made in these directions by the Delhi Six since 1984 are also common knowledge. More than half of the Six are leaders of non-aligned countries, one of them being Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India, the present chairman-coordinator of the non-aligned movement. It is easy to see that all these efforts and moves are consonant with the peace initiatives and political actions of the Soviet Union and, in fact, parallel with them.

Let us now get back to the Delhi seminar, held on the very eve of the Eighth Non-Aligned Summit in Harare, which shows what the non-aligned countries apply their creative efforts to. It was to be expected, in the spirit of the times and in keeping with the movement's traditions, that the problem of promoting peace and disarmament should top the seminar's agenda. K. Subramanyam, Director of the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, the well-known Indian politologist, submitted a concrete recommendation to the effect that the coming Harare conference should propose the signing of an international convention on the banning and elimination of nuclear weapons. During the discussion that ensued the speakers noted the importance of the Soviet unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests. K. P. Mukerjee, a former rector of University of Patna and veteran Indian politologist, told the seminar he extended his heart-felt thanks to Mikhail Gorbachev for having heeded the voice of the Six and prolonged the moratorium on nuclear tests. At the same time he stressed that unilateral action cannot last indefinitely, and that Reagan must reciprocate.

The representative international seminar, opened by Vice-President Ramaswami Venkataraman of India, voiced the feelings of those who believe that the success of the non-aligned movement lies in closer interaction with all the forces of peace. R. K. Garg, general secretary of the Krishna Menon society, said that non-alignment was not equidistance, but unity with all the forces of anti-imperialism, although certain quarters are trying to equate the "two superpowers." After all, it is the imperialists who are bringing ever stronger pressure to bear on the non-aligned countries, stepping up subversive activities against them, and engaging in acts of open aggression.

The problems of safeguarding peace and security in Asia and the Indian and Pacific ocean basins are being increasingly actively discussed. Asia needs a Helsinki of its own. S. M. Misra, an Indian MP, said the Harare summit must suggest a conference on security and cooperation in the Asian-Pacific region. Obviously, the idea of convening such a forum in the long term, put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev in Vladivostok, met with favourable reception.

At the previous non-aligned summit in Delhi (1983) Indira Gandhi quoted Nehru as saying: "Without peace, all our dreams of development turn to ashes." Naturally, therefore, the seminar discussed ways of breaking the fetters of economic backwardness and dependence without losing sight of the main political objective—to consolidate the independence of young nations, which is possible only given lasting world peace. Most of the speakers on problems of development said the developing countries' hopes that their needs would be understood by the leading capitalist powers had not materialized and that the so-called North-South dialogue had failed. It is necessary to promote and strengthen constructive South-South cooperation—i.e., cooperation between the newly free countries themselves—which the West is determined to undermine. L. K. Jha, MP, the well-known Indian economist and politician, said the developing countries must consolidate their position on their own if they are to be reckoned with.

How are they to do that? In the course of the discussion somebody said that in order to achieve a new international economic order in the world arena each non-aligned country should establish a just socio-economic order at home, as all these countries are closely interconnected and interdependent. If the non-aligned countries followed this line of action, neocolonialism and the economic diktat of imperialism would sustain a shattering blow.

It was from this angle that the problem of foreign debts was examined. Indian-Soviet trade, in which all payments are made in Indian rupees, was repeatedly held up as an example of fruitful cooperation between a newly independent country and an industrialized state which does not put the former's head into the noose of debt.

A characteristic—and natural—feature of the discussion of the economic problems facing any non-aligned country was that the more concretely this or that problem was posed, the clearer it became that imperialism obstructed its solution. The truth is always concrete.

This applies in full to the examination of the issue of information imperialism at the seminar. D. R. Mankekar, first chairman of the press agencies pool of the non-aligned countries, and Nikhil Chakravarty, chairman of the non-aligned countries' news agencies liaison committee, convincingly exposed the imperialist character of the Western news monopoly and, at the same time, stated with regret that the fight against this monopoly is not as yet sufficiently effective and that full use was not being made of the advantages offered by the pool.

Information colonialism has the purpose of fettering the minds and hearts of the people of the newly independent countries. Fighting against it means fighting for the observance of human rights. It was no accident therefore that several participants in the seminar stressed the need to work out the concept of a new international order in the sphere of human rights (the "human order"). The celebrated Indian writer and democrat Mulk Raj Anand suggested that intellectuals of the newly independent countries should hold regular conferences having as their aim the spiritual revival and unity of the nations in their struggle against the neocolonialist policy of imperialism.

On the whole, the international seminar held on the 25th anniversary of the non-aligned movement showed that scientific and public circles in the non-aligned countries are aware of the need to offer still more resolute resistance to imperialism in their practical work. Participants expressed the hope that at its Harare summit the non-aligned movement would make an important contribution to the struggle for peace and life on the planet and a happier future for the developing nations.

Professor R. TUZMUKHAMEDOV

Delhi—Moscow

U.S.S.R.—SUDAN

Important Milestone

AFTER THE VISIT

The Sudanese head of government's official visit to the Soviet Union in mid-August marked a turn of the tide in the bilateral relationship. Indeed, though the two countries established diplomatic relations as soon as Sudan became independent in 1956, the 30 years since then have not been entirely serene. There was quite a lengthy break, the reason for which should not be sought in any change in Soviet policy but in the course of entering into a military-political alliance with the U.S. adopted by General Nimeiri's regime after his takeover in 1969.

The alliance subverted Sudan's international role and exacerbated the relations between this largest African country and its neighbours. "Chaos and paralysis" are the epithets also being applied in Khartoum today to the domestic political consequences of the general's rule. The promulgation of Islamic laws provoked discontent in southern Sudan, inhabited by Negroid tribes of Christian and animist beliefs (the rest of the country is populated by Moslem Arabs). In 1983 insurgents in that part of the country initiated hostilities.

On April 6 last year President Nimeiri was overthrown by an army coup. The Transitional Military Council kept its promise to hold a general election within the space of a year, after which it handed over the reigns of power to a civilian government. Saddik al Mahdi, leader of the middle-of-the-way Al Umma Party in opposition to the toppled dictator, was designated prime minister and defence minister.

The new prime minister has abrogated the harsh Islamic laws. He has called for a national solution to economic problems and has initiated a constructive dialogue with the insurgents in the South though now and again hostilities flare up to intervene. He is normalizing relations with neighbouring Libya and Ethiopia; more specifically, early last month he had talks with Gaddafi in Libya to discuss cooperation and unity. Today Khartoum is opposed to neocolonialism, racism and apartheid, as well as to military-political axes and blocs. It has proclaimed non-alignment the backbone of its foreign policy. For the first time it declined to participate last year in the Pentagon - organized Bright Star war games in the Middle East.

At his first news conference as head of government, Saddik al Mahdi said it was essential to promote links with the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries, to "rectify the earlier one-sided orientation of Sudan's foreign policy." As a result, he came to Moscow and had talks with Nikolai Ryzhkov, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers. Moscow and Khartoum have now advocated "restoring the friendly character of the bilateral relationship." That is the key outcome of the talks.

As both an Arab and an African country, Sudan cannot look on indifferently at the situation in either the Middle East or southern Africa, at the dangerous crisis situations that Israel and South Africa have generated with U.S. backing in these parts of the world. The joint communiqué, outlining the results of the Moscow talks, stressed the need for the earliest convocation of an international conference on the Middle East, to which all the parties concerned would be invited. The two countries have called for the earliest abolition of the ignominious system of apartheid in South Africa.

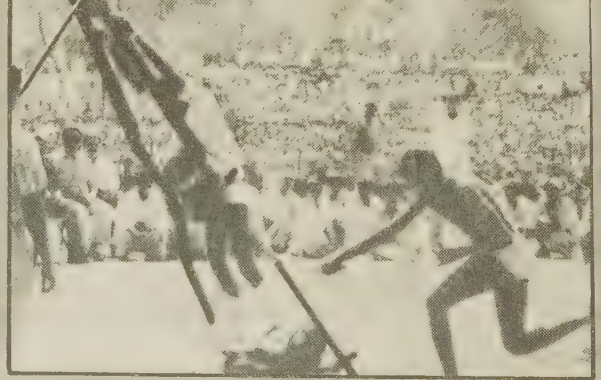
The U.S. has arbitrarily involved 19 independent Asian and African countries, including Sudan, within the operations zone of its Central Command (Centcom). As the communiqué notes, the U.S.S.R. "supports the efforts the states of Africa are making to turn this continent into a zone free of nuclear weaponry and foreign military bases." For its part, present-day Sudan urges an end to the arms race, complete disarmament, and organically linking disarmament to re-channelling astronomical military expenditures to the needs of development. It is demanding that nuclear testing be outlawed and that the militarization of space be prevented. This dovetails with the Soviet peace bids.

The conditions for promoting friendly Soviet-Sudanese cooperation have once more obtained. The protracted break is over.

L. YELIN

PAKISTAN

In Pakistan, August saw numerous demonstrations and massive police reprisals. The authorities arrested hundreds of leaders and activists in the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy—an alliance of the opposition parties. Those arrested include Benazir Bhutto, co-chairman of the Pakistan People's Party, the biggest opposition party. Benazir Bhutto, 33, is the daughter of Zulfikar Ali-Khan Bhutto, who was executed by the Zia ul-Haq military regime in 1979. The supporters of the alliance took to the streets in protest. They demanded an end to executions and brutal corporal punishments like that shown in the photo. The demonstrators demanded that the government should set the date for this year's general election before September 20.



The demonstrations were charged by riot police and regular army units using truncheons and tear-gas grenades. In Karachi and Lahore soldiers opened fire, leaving many protesters dead or wounded.

A National Protest Day was held in Pakistan on August 18. The Movement for the Restoration of Democracy calls for the overthrow of General Zia ul-Haq's regime.

FRANCE

Television for Sale

AN OBSERVER'S VIEW

"The Franco-French wars" continue against a background of tense—though on the whole peaceful—"coexistence" between the Socialist President and the right-wing government. The revenge taken last March by the grande bourgeoisie in securing a comfortable majority for its representatives in the National Assembly has already led to tangible changes on the political scene. Says Prime Minister Jacques Chirac: "A new situation is shaping up. A different system of values will have been created in France before this year is out."

This is a well-grounded forecast. The promulgation of the law "On the Freedom of the Mass Media," drafted by the Chirac government and approved by a majority vote at the National Assembly and in the Senate, goes a long way towards this "new system of values" and is an important indicator of its meaning and content. Under it, for instance, TF-1, the country's oldest and biggest television company, hitherto controlled by the state and financed on the whole at the expense of TV-viewers who pay a tax on each TV-set they possess, will from now on be privately-owned. By whom?

There are two rich bidders for it. One is Robert Hersant, a former collaborationist and now a deputy at the National Assembly, a media king, who owns dozens of metropolitan and provincial periodicals, including national papers like France-Soir and Le Figaro with its arch-reactionary weekly Le Figaro-Magazine. A current mirthless joke goes that if Hersant takes over TF-1, the initials will stand for Television Figaro instead of Television Française. In that case every French TV-viewer will be guaranteed the non-stop home delivery of "different values." Hersant's most serious rival is the Hachette publishing monopoly associated with another group of financial rather than political interests. Other bidders include James Goldsmith, the owner of the weekly L'Express which is so popular with the ruling class, and Silvio Berlusconi, the Italian who has snaffled all his own country's television networks and some French commercial TV stations. He specializes in supplying American products to the West European television market.

It hardly makes any difference to French TV-viewers who will prove the highest bidder. They already know that the fight has been lost by the French, 70 per cent of whom voted against the law "On the Freedom of the Mass Media," i.e., against placing television under the bourgeoisie's undivided control. As Jack Ralite, a former Communist minister put it, denationalizing television is like auctioning off the Louvre, the Comédie Française and Versailles. On the eve of the enactment of the law, the movement Television Belongs to Us emerged, expressing the views of large sections of the democratic public. Massive protest demonstrations and meetings were held, and television personnel went on a series of strikes. However, the anti-democratic law was passed. Its initiator, François Léotard, Minister of Culture and Secretary-General of the Republican Party who has the support of all right-wing forces, including Jean-Marie Le Pen's extreme-right National Front, does not think that television belongs to "them," i.e., the French. So what if they pay taxes that go into the TF-1 budget? "It's like calling yourself the owner of the coffee bar you patronize," the minister said.

The minister did not mention the fact that you can select the bar to suit your taste, that patronizing it or staying away from it is up to you. As for TF-1, the country's main TV station, from now on its clients will have no choice, irrespective of which millionaire takes over. You will have to eat what the owner chooses to serve. So good-bye pluralism! Long live the spiritual totalitarianism of private capital which has strengthened considerably its position as a result of the denationalization of dozens of major plants, banks and insurance companies.

Under the new law, television—alienated from the state—will be authorized to advertise not only all sorts of merchandize but political parties, too, American-style. Such spot advertising is extremely expensive—just one minute of air time will cost a party or a publicity-seeking politician 460,000 francs! This means that only the parties financed by big banks and corporations will be able to afford it.

To each his own: some are given the opportunity to put their views across; others are silenced. The "different system of values" puts television effectively beyond the reach of workers, trade unions, other democratic organizations and, certainly and most particularly, the French Communist Party. This despite the fact that it is now the only party that firmly and persistently upholds the interests of the working people and their system of values, both intellectual and moral. This is neither more nor less than legalized ostracism with regard to the Communists and their supporters, of whom there are millions among TV-viewers.

The Communist MPs voted against the anti-democratic law. The Socialists followed suit. Jack Lang, Léotard's predecessor as Minister of Culture, gave a long interview to the newspaper Le Monde in this connection, concluding it with a phrase prompted by the rules of "coexistence" and addressed to the right-wing parties: "Let us sit down at one table and work together for a free and creative audiovisual system. Come on, gentlemen of the government, be real liberals for once!"

The call was left unanswered. The gentlemen of the government, applauded by Hersant and Le Pen, believe that their anti-democratic line is the embodiment of genuine liberalism.

V. TSOPPI

EL SALVADOR

Duarte's "Olive Branch"

OUR COMMENT

President José Napoleon Duarte of Salvador has suggested that negotiations be held on August 29 between the Salvadoran authorities, on the one hand, and the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (NLF) and the Revolutionary Democratic Front (RDF), on the other.

This will be the third round of negotiations in six and a half years during which the war has taken over 60,000 lives. The first round was held on October 15, 1984, when Duarte and his Defence Minister Carlos Casanova met with representatives of the two patriotic organizations in the church in La Palma, an out-of-the-way town in the mountainous country near the Honduran border.

Salvadoran patriots had on many previous occasions suggested seeking political means of stopping the bloody war and settling the internal conflict. On the insistent recommendations of the White House such suggestions were invariably rejected. But towards mid-1984, when the odds on the battlefield were no longer in the government's favour, the Salvadoran authorities were forced to seek a dialogue. Much of the credit for that went to the Contadora group which is working for a peaceful settlement in Central America.

The La Palma meeting proved a failure, however. Under pressure from the right in his own country and on Washington's instructions, Duarte rejected the patriots'

proposal to form a national unity government in which all Salvadoran democratic forces would be represented.

A second round of negotiations was conducted at the end of November 1984 in Ayagualo near San Salvador. Once again, the President rejected the fair and realistic proposals put forward by the NLF-RDF, in which they demanded an immediate end to U.S. interference in Salvador's internal affairs and to repressive action against the opposition, as well as the disbandment of punitive forces and the "death squads," and the formation of a national unity government.

Duarte has now suggested a firm date for a third round of negotiations.

Has the President of Salvador anything new to offer the insurgents? Hardly so, it seems. After all, he has described as "unconstitutional" the NLF-RDF's idea of forming a provisional transitional government, which would hold general elections in the country. As before, he is insisting on the unilateral disarmament of the rebel units. As before, the authorities are trying to suppress them by force of arms. Early in August the government got $16 million from the U.S. Agency for International Development with which to carry out a "national reconstruction campaign"—an innocently sounding code name for an operation to "clear the territory" of active guerrilla groups.

The evidence shows that President Duarte's motive in suggesting a meeting with his opponents was to keep up appearances. He cannot but reckon with popular feeling in Salvador whose people are demanding an end to bloodshed. As for the patriots, they would like to achieve a truly peaceful settlement of internal problems through negotiation.

A. BARYSHEV

NAMIBIA

Freedom Fighters on the Offensive

● **INTERVIEW**

The situation in Namibia is complex. Even President Pieter Botha of South Africa has recently admitted as much. The People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) is dealing increasingly effective blows on the occupiers. The strength of the patriots lies in their close links with the local population.

"People give us material and moral support even under pain of manhandling and death," Sam Nujoma, President of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), told me when we talked during the International Conference on Namibia in Vienna.

Even whatever information seeps through the fine sieve of censorship testifies to the patriots' increasingly vigorous actions: in 1984 the PLAN fighters attacked the regular racist army 96 times, and in 1985, 123 times.

Namibian patriots have been fighting for the liberation of their homeland from South African occupiers for 20 years. Each day of the war costs Pretoria three million rands. The racist authorities have imposed a state of war

ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

South of the Equator

Although the militarization of the Pacific region is not yet equal in scale to that in Europe it is proceeding fast enough to have potentially fatal consequences. However, it is not yet too late to prevent the Pacific becoming an arena of military-political confrontation. The prerequisites exist for the Pacific to become what its name suggests.

One prerequisite was the decision of 13 states and self-governing territories in the South Pacific to proclaim the region a nuclear-free zone. The treaty establishing such a zone was drawn up and approved at the August 1985 session of the South Pacific Forum (SPF) with which these countries are affiliated. The session was held in Avarua, the administrative centre of the Cook Islands. Hence the name of the document it adopted — the Avarua treaty. Early in August, the 17th SPF summit was held in Suva, the capital of the island state of Fiji, to discuss the problems involved in formalizing the non-nuclear status of the South Pacific region.

The Avarua treaty binds its signatories to refrain from developing producing, acquiring and deploying nuclear weapons on their territories and bans nuclear tests and the burial of radioactive waste within the zone the treaty applies to.

The Avarua treaty has now been signed by 10 of the thirteen SPF states—Australia, New Zealand, Western Samoa, Kiribati, Papua New Guinea, Nauru, Fiji, Tuvalu, the Cook Islands and Niue. The four last-mentioned have already ratified it.

Some states in the region consider the treaty inadequate because it does not ban the passage of nuclear-carrying warships and aircraft through the nuclear-free zone, or deny them the use of the zone's ports and airfields. The treaty leaves it to the individual SPF states to make the appropriate decisions. This, incidentally, is why Vanuatu and the Solomon Islands have not signed it.

> **The U.S.S.R. supports the idea of making the South Pacific a nuclear-free zone and calls on all nuclear powers, unilaterally or multilaterally, to guarantee its status.**
>
> **From Mikhail Gorbachev's Vladivostok speech on July 28**

The South Pacific nuclear-free zone covers an enormous area, 8.5 million square kilometres. It is therefore almost as large as that established in Latin America in 1967 under the Treaty of Tlatelolco (so named after the district of Mexico City where it was signed). The confines of the new nuclear-free zone have been established as being the Equator in the north and the 60th Parallel in the south. In the east, it will adjoin the Tlatelolco Treaty nuclear-free zone, and in the west, pass between the territorial waters of Australia and Indonesia and along the symbolic borderline between the Pacific and Indian oceans.

The extraordinary importance of the decision to declare the South Pacific a nuclear-free zone is indisputable. It was, after all, in the Pacific that the first atomic and hydrogen bombs were tested. France is still testing its latest nuclear weapons on Mururoa atoll.

At the estimate of the regional religious organization, the Pacific Ocean Conference of Churches, the U.S. has no less than 10,000 nuclear warheads on its insular bases, ships and submarines in the Pacific.

on a territory that accounts for 80 per cent of the entire population. More than 100,000 South African soldiers are stationed in Namibia, not to mention mercenaries from the Western countries and Israel.

The racists are using Namibia as a springboard from which to attack the neighbouring states—Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana. It was from there that another attack was made on Angola early last August, with South African troops penetrating 300 kilometres into the territory of Angola. Fighting is in progress near the Angolan city of Cuito Cuanavale.

Seeking to "Namibianize" the unjust punitive war against a people who have dared demand independence, the Pretoria authorities have knocked together, from déclassé elements, the so-called "South West Africa territorial forces" and "South West Africa police." The white community is armed to the teeth. As a result, there is now one soldier to every six civilians in the "huge barracks" as Namibia is referred to in Africa.

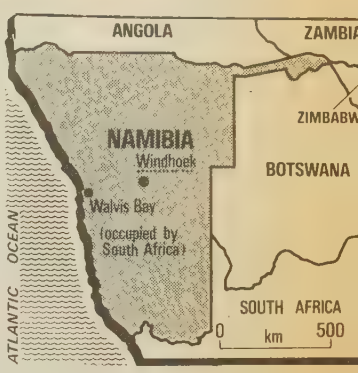
"I saw prisoners tortured in Windhoek jails," Anton Lubowsky, a prominent Namibian lawyer who has been arrested by the racists five times for protesting against the occupiers' brutalities, told me. "Detainees are hung up by their hands. Women's breasts are seared with live wires."

Africans live in extremely difficult conditions in Namibia. The whites' average income there is 24 times that of blacks, and 5,000 white farmers own more than 80 per cent of all fertile land as against a mere six per cent belonging to 120,000 African families.

In June 1985 Pretoria formed a "provisional government" out of its supporters in Windhoek. The racists and their Western allies, especially the U.S., see this puppet structure as the prototype for a future pseudo-independent Namibia.

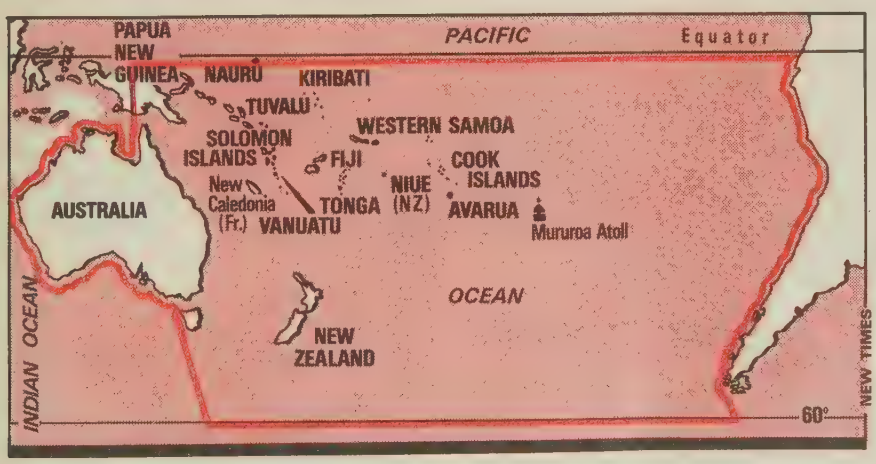
But the people are not deceived by such "internal settlement" tricks. The people are solidly behind SWAPO, their only legitimate representative, and they demand genuine independence. The authority commanded by the liberation movement is beyond doubt.

Pretoria and the Western capitals are aware of the strengthening of SWAPO's positions. This is why South Africa, the U.S. and other allies of the racists are jointly opposing in every way the fulfilment of Resolution No. 435, adopted by the U.N. Security Council in 1978, providing for Namibia's transition to independence through fair and free elections under U.N. supervision and control. The non-constructive Western approach is in striking contrast with the flexible position of SWAPO which is prepared to solve the Namibian problem not only by military but by peaceful means as well—that is, it is ready to stop hostilities and enter into negotiations with the occupation authorities.



V. KOROCHANTSEV

Vienna—Moscow



The Suva conference worked out and adopted the final versions of the protocols extending the principles that underlie the Avarua treaty, and specified the commitments of states signatory to it. The protocols call on all nuclear states to pledge themselves to respect the status of the nuclear-free zone, not to use, or threaten to use, nuclear weapons against the states signatory to the treaty, and to test no nuclear devices in the zone covered by the treaty. The session demanded that the U.S. stop nuclear testing without delay as a first step towards an agreement on ending tests altogether, and resolutely condemned the policy of France which is continuing to implement its nuclear test programme on Mururoa atoll.

The establishment of nuclear-free zones, like other measures to curb the race in the most dangerous weapons, is meeting with vigorous opposition on the part of aggressive imperialist circles, especially the United States. Washington has always been opposed to nuclear-free zones. During his recent visit to Singapore George Shultz, the U.S. Secretary of State, described the decision of the SPF states as "a mistake," while William Bodde, the former U.S. Ambassador to Fiji, stated that "the movement for a nuclear-free Pacific Ocean was the most serious threat to American interests in the region." Clearly, he meant the interests of U.S. militaristic circles.

Paris has stated it will not abide by the SPF states' treaty and will continue with its nuclear tests on Mururoa atoll. The decision of the Suva session to petition the U.N. committee on decolonization to put France's overseas territory of New Caledonia on the list of the territories subject to decolonization has also caused displeasure in Paris.

The Soviet Union has always regarded the establishment of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world as an important measure in the struggle to limit the sphere of the nuclear arms race. "We are in favour of putting up a barrier in the way of the proliferation and buildup of **nuclear weapons** in Asia and the Pacific," said Mikhail Gorbachev in his Vladivostok speech.

This is why the Soviet Union has from the outset supported the efforts of the South Pacific states to establish a nuclear-free zone in the region.

China has also voiced its support for a South Pacific nuclear-free zone.

A. KUZNETSOV

"My Dream Is a Joint Mission to Mars"

Colonel Jean-Loup Chrétien, fighter and test pilot, officer of the Legion of Honour and Hero of the Soviet Union, gave an exclusive interview to New Times. Jean-Loup Chrétien was the first Frenchman to go into outer space; he did so on a joint Soviet-French space flight in June 1982. He has now been shortlisted for the second joint space mission, planned for 1988.

Q. Professional pilots are said to be "sky-struck," once you have been up there, you are forever addicted to flying. You spent eight days in outer space. Has space got the same sort of appeal?

A. There are two points worth mentioning. A fighter pilot is alone in the cockpit and he has the selfish desire to find himself alone in the skies anew. During a space flight, however, you are a crew member and all of a sudden you feel an amazing sense of togetherness not only with the other crew members but also with everyone you knew in Star Town. There is a very strong desire to make another flight together. When I see Volodya Dzhanibekov and Sasha Ivanchenkov and also the crew of the Salyut station, Lebedev and Berezovoy, we have special emotions. There are very strong bonds between us. We want to accomplish together something even more meaningful and outstanding. We said after the first mission that we were ready to fly together to Mars—and this indeed is my dream.

Q. In 1986 the Soviet Union and France celebrate the 20th anniversary of their agreement on scientific and technological cooperation. Both sides have characterized it as well-balanced and mutually beneficial. In the recent period, however, it was criticized by some as a "one-way street." Yet national interests and basic common sense have prevailed. The joint Soviet-French space flight is graphic proof of the viability of our scientific and technological cooperation. What is the meaning of this practical cooperation to France?

A. I shall perhaps make my answer at some length. One of those at the origin of this cooperation on the French

Left to right: Spacemen Vladimir Dzhanibekov, Alexander Ivanchenkov and Jean-Loup Chrétien.

TASS photo

side, a man whom I admire and who is important to my understanding of life, was General Charles de Gaulle. When he was a head of state, some of his decisions were deplored. Practice eventually demonstrated, however, that he had been right. I take pridé in contributing to a process initiated by General de Gaulle. I share his views and always will. The General's strength lay in his ability to rise above petty political problems, which are often given undue importance. His policy was meant to have people live and work together rather than make war on each other under the influence of fickle political winds.

One must know how to look far ahead and stand up for one's views. And then one will always be understood—by the French, the Americans, the Russians. Six years ago, when the joint Soviet-French space mission was in the making, there were those who predicted that it would fail and even tried to block it. Attempts were made to scare us with a possibly adverse American reaction. Later, however, we cooperated with NASA and had no problems because the Americans—though not all of them—realized that cooperation in outer space should be free from the effects of problems in state-to-state relations.

Now back to Earth. It is perfectly clear that Western Europe, working on its own, is unlikely to be successful in the exploration of outer space and that cooperation on a worldwide scale is a must. Cooperation with the Soviet Union is very useful to France from the point of view of technology. I was the first to say some time ago that everything we were given by the Soviet Union was extremely valuable for our future. It was thanks to international cooperation that we made up within a few years for the time lost earlier.

Q. What did you think and feel as a pilot as you looked at our populated planet from outer space?

A. You are unlikely to hear anything unusual from me. Before the flight I was told a great deal about what Earth looked like from out there and I was not shaken very much. But when you see from high up a ball which is really not very large, fly across the territories of all the countries and do not see national borders, you begin better to understand the absurdity of the share-out which starts with one's "own" orchard, village or township. Humanity is becoming a single entity, despite opposition to this process.

Q. The founding congress of an International Association of Space Explorers took place in Cernay outside Paris last year. Could you say a few words about the goals of that organization and your personal contribution to its work?

A. The association is very young and it is too early to talk about a detailed programme. Its main goal is to facilitate contacts between space explorers from different countries. We have a special responsibility and these contacts are viewed as exchanges of ideas and experience and a means of formulating a general philosophy of human activity in outer space. This is very important. We have many ideas in common; differences are very few and most of them are secondary. One further goal of the association is to attract young people to space exploration.

Quite a few people—Leonov, his American friend Stafford, Kubasov and myself—were involved in founding the association. When President Ronald Reagan blocked such meetings in the United States, I did what I could to have them continued in France.

Q. What would you say about the recent Soviet proposal on the development of international cooperation in outer space and the establishment of a world space exploration organization? Don't you think that the experience of cooperation between the Soviet Union and France, two countries belonging to different socio-political systems, serves as a good example if not a model in such an endeavour?

A. I'm all for it because it serves the interests of human progress. As for the second part of your question, before going to the Soviet Union I had heard a good deal to the effect that on the other side of the "iron curtain" was the enemy.

Having worked side by side with my Soviet colleagues I understood that I did not have any enemies and did not want to have any. Whatever country I visit now, I come first and foremost as a friend. We must communicate as friends even if we have different philosophies. One must try to convert one's opponent, argue with him, disagree with him—but always see in him a friend rather than an enemy. Everyone in the world is different. When you meet a person from the other side of the world, first shake his or her hand. Wherever I went in the Soviet Union I was welcomed by friends. It was for me an experience of amazingly warm human communication, far surpassing the official schedule of my foreign visits.

Q. What do you think of the new Soviet-French space flight in 1988?

A. I hope that the main questions were resolved during Mr Gorbachev's visit to France and that the project is under way, so to speak. I had at that time a few brief informal meetings with Mr Gorbachev. At a reception at the Soviet embassy, he came up to me and asked, "Would you like to make another flight with our men?" (Jean-Loup said that phrase in Russian.) Then he cast a look at Mr Mitterrand and told me: "We have already decided everything with your Presidend." I was amazed by his warmth and simplicity.

Q. You are the first Frenchman to have been to outer space. Now there are two of you. There will be other flights, but you will always be the first. What does that mean to you? How was your day-to-day life affected?

A. I tried to avoid being over-exploited by the mass media, for advertising amongst other things. I did not want to become a "star." However, the cosmonaut has a special role and responsibility in cooperation in space exploration, in achieving a better understanding among nations and in attracting young people to our work.

Q. You spent a total of two years, with short intervals, in the Soviet Union training for the first flight. What helped you not to be too homesick?

A. To begin with, a sense of being one of a large family known as Star Town, and also the efforts of my friends and fellow crew members, Dzhanibekov and Ivanchenkov, to take the place of the family I had left behind in France. I called at the Dzhanibekovs' in Star Town virtually every night to have a cup of tea and a chat. So it was my family. The babushka (Jean-Loup says in Russian) of the Dzhanibekovs' was my Granny as well. When I don't see the Dzhanibekovs and Ivanchenkovs for a long time, I miss them. I really need them. That friendship, simple and unpretentious, was very dear. While in Moscow, I missed France, and now I miss Star Town.

Q. Do you have a favourite Russian dish?

A. More than one, such as bliny (pancakes) with caviar or stewed fruit and borshch. In my youth I lived in a Breton village near the city of Morlaix, and after the space flight my crew members went there for a village festival. I remember eating during and after the war a soup with cabbage and meat, something like Breton borshch. I like all the traditional dishes of Russian cuisine, they call to mind my native Bretagne.

Q. Now the usual question: what would you like to tell your Soviet friends?

A. My wife is American and, preparing to go to the Soviet Union, she has been studying Russian hard. She says that if we, a Frenchman and an American, have a child, let it be born in the U.S.S.R., in Russia.

Interview by
A. KUDRYAVTSEV

Paris

POLEMICS

"WE MUST SEEK A THIRD COURSE"

Mr Editor, Sir:

It has become crystal clear that nothing can be resolved between the forces representing the interests of the popular masses and those representing the traditionally dominant exploiting classes. A war between these two blocs would be, of course, self-defeating. But equally inadmissible and inconclusive would be the advocacy of popular revolutions that in the face of well-organized concentrations of sophisticated weaponry would entail unacceptable losses in life and property. The era of the pike and the musket is over. We can no longer think in terms of masses of humanity conducting a classic revolution by sheer weight of numbers....

We must realize the fact that progressive forces are facing a ruthless, uncompromising world bourgeoisie that thinks in terms of "there are things worse than war"—meaning that giving up their parasitically regal existence, their privileges, their commanding positions over the destinies of whole peoples and individuals and, moreover, to have to work for a living like the rest of us, is worse than war! Realistically, the irresistible instinct of greed is stronger than sexual desires and here one can detect a class attitude that spells "after me the deluge."

However formidable these class obstructions they cannot stop the inexorable march of objective forces of human evolution. As we realize that both national and/or class confrontations must be prudently avoided for obvious reasons, we must, therefore, seek a third course, while common morality dictates condemnation of terroristic acts as being the product of petty vengeance, wanton murder indiscriminately applied, and lacking in constructive results, there is a certain degree of logic in it that can be put to useful purposes. The basic principle of terrorism (strike and melt away), extensively altered and highly refined, can become the main strategic element in the revolutionary process. We leave it to the professionals to evaluate its possibilities and to elaborate further. It must be noted in this connection the overreaction of the U.S. suggesting the serious view this Administration takes in regard to terrorism as being the most potent weapon threatening its existence... perhaps due to its elusive character of operation! While you advocate new directions in thinking habits essential in the nuclear age, your statements indicate applying classical methods to social change which leaves one disturbed—no one likes the idea of becoming "turkey shoot" for armed goons!... too big a price to pay for "experience" in the class struggle.

Joseph SPARACINO
Gibsons, Canada

BUT WHY HEAD FOR A BLIND ALLEY?

Dear Mr Sparacino,

If we were somewhere in the middle of the 19th century, I would understand your call to make individual terror the main strategic element in the revolutionary process. In that period the oppressed classes were experimenting at random with ways and means of liberation. The quest was painful as they laboured under unbearable oppression, but no way to liberation had yet been found. "Impatience" is the title the distinguished Soviet writer Yuri Trifonov gave a novel about the heroes of the Russian revolutionary organization Narodnaya Volya (the People's Will) that sought to overthrow the tzarist yoke by individual acts of terror. Righteous indignation induced them to act and sacrifice themselves, although, as it turned out, this could not achieve the desired result. No wonder Vera Zassulich, a Russian revolutionary who started out by shooting mayor Trepov, subsequently wrote in Lenin's newspaper Iskra (The Spark): "We oppose terrorism for the simple reason that it is not revolutionary."

Yet what was a delusion in the past century [illegible] Historical ex[perience] that it was r[ight] rangers that [made] process but [the] struggle of t[he] political par[ties] motive force[s]

Of course, [we] that today's [world] compromising[ly] indeed prep[ared] sacrifice to [the] tion.

However, t[he] the exploiting [classes] and, at time[s] One side is [not] think should [be] terror is spe[cific] against illu[sions] (one has or[ganized] attempted as [in] Castro) but [the] bourgeois p[ress] not Commun[ists] tion to prese[nt] Olof Palme [as] Another mea[ns] against the l[eft] leftwingers [are] of terror to [the] masses and [the] "killers" and [the]

Now a new[s]

FOLLOW-UP

"Non placet," I disagree, is a Latin tag that adequately sums up the gist of the comment received in respect of Wolfgang Schmieder's letter from the F.R.G. (issue No. 28 for this year), in which he contended that the NATO "strategy of deterrence" was alone responsible for maintaining peace in Europe over the 40 years that have elapsed since the end of the war.

IN SEARCH OF TRUTH

To allege that a world without weapons is a pipe dream, as Herr Schmieder does, is, I think, facile. It is still more absurd to say that the peace movement is communist propaganda. Everyone needs peace. We Communists need it, and those of other political persuasions also need it. But we are saving peace by different means. We who live in the socialist countries seek to renounce every type of weapon. They, on the contrary, are building up "shields" and missiles, relying on overkill. Familiar arguments. On the eve of the last war Hitler claimed that Germany's super-arming would guarantee its security.

We are striving for peace. That is precisely why we are proposing measures that can protect not only our own lives, but yours as well. But instead of decisive moves towards peace we are accused of communist propaganda, of craving to dictate and impose our convictions upon those who do not want them. Such an approach precludes compromise. We really need to reach an understanding and pool our resources to save civilization.

Mikhail MANDRAKOV
North-Ossetian Autonomous Republic, U.S.S.R.

CAVEMAN STANCE

So Reagan's proposed "space shield" appeals to you? But will anything guarantee that if such a "shield" is built its possessor will not, adhering to your logic, want to hide behind it, and, hoping to get away with [it] neighbour? Fr[om] of view that [it] However, [even] sophisticated [weapons] weaponry, fo[r] live on is toc[k] Have your ev[idence]

Furthermore[,] believe in di[sarmament] have gone [on] decades, with[out] you, is my co[nviction] the U.S.S.R. [has] moves that v[ery] collective sec[urity] continent pea[ce] does it not c[ome]

SDI has ma[de] F.R.G. as wel[l] say:

I REJEC[T]

The "shield" the "sword" a[nd] ment of spac[e] will not only

terrorism, has appeared, and is being employed by arch-reactionary bourgeois policy makers in many imperialist states. The aim of the state terrorism practised by the U.S., Israel and South Africa is to obstruct history's advance. Familiar, but dangerous illusion.

Terrorism will neither stop history, nor advance it, and, hence, I totally reject your proposed "third course." Do you really think social change can be effected by certain "professionals" who will "strike and melt away"? Terror is not "third course"—it is only a blind alley.

You rightly say that in the world of today there are two opposed social blocs as you put it, "forces representing the interests of the popular masses and those representing the traditionally dominant exploiting classes." How will such confrontation end?

You also rightly say that a nuclear war between them would be self-defeating. But why should confrontation necessarily bring about war? The new political thinking we offer mankind is the realization that nuclear war would be disastrous for both "social blocs," and for all outside these blocs as well. We suggest excluding the means of warfare from the political arsenal.

Social change is not achieved by sheer weight of numbers. Nor is it achieved by superiority in military technology. That the era of the pike and the musket is over is quite true. But the A-bomb is not a means of revolutionary progress either. On the contrary!

So what are we who live in this nuclear age to do? We propose the peaceful coexistence of the two systems. The assertion that "nothing can be resolved" between the social blocs is open to question. At any rate, the possibility of nuclear disaster must be completely ruled out.

hope you'll acquaint yourself with the extremely important statement Mikhail Gorbachev made on August 18. The extension of the Soviet moratorium is another manifestation of new thinking vital in the nuclear epoch. This move accords with our communist philosophy, with our morality because it is aimed at solving a problem of immediate concern to all mankind—at saving life on earth from atomic death. An atomic holocaust will make the quests for any kind of social reform—classical or otherwise—impossible, won't it?

Lev BEZYMENSKY
Our news analyst

A READER'S CONTRIBUTION

Mass demonstrations protesting against the "star wars" plans and calling for peaceful cooperation among the nations are being held throughout the F.R.G. This photo of a young participant in this year's Easter March was sent in by reader Klaus Rose.

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V. TOKAREV
emov, U.S.S.R.

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controlling arms limitation and disarmament, but will also drastically reduce notification time and make the adoption of decisions of military policy bearing upon humanity's continued existence dependent upon the probably erroneous signals of (radio) electronic reconnaissance.

An arms race in outer space will undermine that strategic stability in the world which is currently averting the outbreak of war. However, it is this stability that the Reagan Administration finds totally inadmissible.

As Fred Charles Ikle, Secretary of State at the U.S. Defence Department, said recently in Munich, stability brings stagnation and stagnation, retreat, so to remain free one must supposedly advance. Armand Hammer, that rational American businessman, once qualified the policy of détente and arms limitation of the 1970s as a major victory for all the forces of common sense, good will and realism. SDI's implementation would be a frightening victory for imprudence and ill will. It must be averted.

Bernhard PRIESMEIER
Rinteln, F.R.G.

From Project to Product

BORIS BOLOTIN

Accelerated development means not merely a higher rate of economic growth. It means a new approach to the management of the national economy, and socio-economic restructuring, which is to alter the tenor of our lives, and work radical changes in production, people's attitude to work and the attitude to the working people.

Social Priorities

Aware of its responsibility to the nation, the CPSU said that not one of our social problems should be allowed to spill over into the 21st century. It was stressed at the 27th CPSU Congress that life in our society must be governed by the main principle of socialism—to each according to his work. This principle presupposes fair payment for one's labour rather than wage-levelling. A major priority in this sphere is to bring the wages and salaries of engineers, factory workers, schoolteachers, collective farmers, physicians and office employees into full conformity with the social importance of their work.

Another important task is to put an end, once and for all, to a situation where part of the Soviet Union's population is inadequately provided for. This cannot be done by improving the wage scale alone. It is also necessary to increase pensions and allowances to families with many children because large families and the aged constitute the bulk of the less well-off. Combined with higher pay for better work, the enlargement of social consumption funds will go a long way towards levelling up Soviet people's living standards and ensuring social homogeneity in our society.

As distinct from the situation that obtained in the recent past, the rise of monetary incomes in the Soviet Union is to be accompanied by an increase in the supply of quality modern goods and the broadening of the everyday service network so that people can make more rational and rewarding use of their free time. This is the essence of the special programme adopted recently.

Another important social objective is to improve the nation's health, to prove that socialism is a system capable of coping with diseases often believed to be the inevitable concomitants of industrial civilization and modern urbanization. This calls not only for all-round progress in medicine as a science and in the public health system as part of the social infrastructure, but also for much healthier working and living conditions. In other words, measures are to be taken to protect the human environment, to enrich and vary the diet, lengthen leasure time, and involve most of the population in physical culture and sport.

Our current plans also provide for the restructuring and improvement of the entire public education system, the idea being not only to prepare young people for the standard of technological progress the next 15 years will bring, but also to make learning an organic lifelong condition, so that the urge to learn should be as strong as the urge to acquire the good things of life and, ultimately, relegate consumerism to the background.

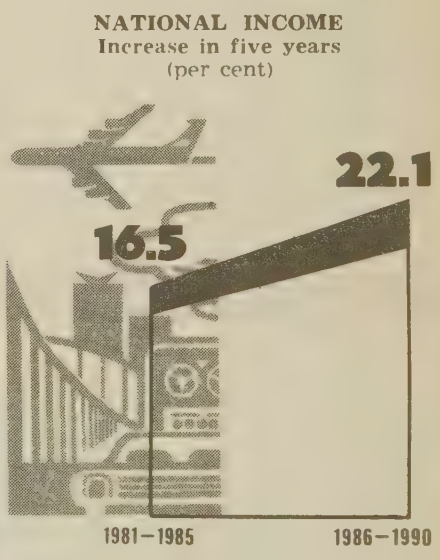
Soviet Communists have set themselves an unprecedented task—that of solving the housing problem completely. Every family is to have a flat or house to itself, with the number of rooms equal, at least, to the number of family members, and with an average per capita floor space of about 20 sq. m.

As well as the above-mentioned social objectives, the acceleration strategy comprises, of course, plans for the mechanization of manual work, which, besides being of economic benefit, will mean improved skills and higher wages for 20-odd million people. The plans to build more roads are also of great social importance: new roads will not only help reduce farm produce losses, but will also afford a rural population of almost 100 million easier access to the benefits of urban culture.

Such are the main social features of acceleration which aims, as the political report of the CPSU Central Committee puts it, at "making our life better, purer, fairer."

Are Growth Rates High Enough?

The material resources which are to go into the implementation of these ambitious social objectives are commensurate with their scale. A sum twice as great as that spent over the previous 15 years (1971-85) has been allocated to carry out the social programme for the period of up to the year 2000. This is exactly why the U.S.S.R.'s national income is to **double** towards the end of this century.



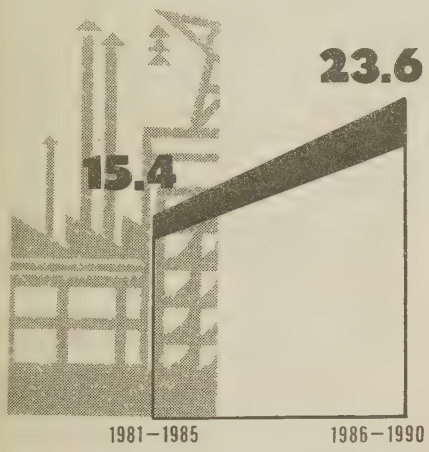
If our national income is to double in 15 years, the average annual economic growth rate should be at least 4.7 per cent. This rate is to increase gradually. The plan adopted by the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet last June sets the growth rate in the 12th five-year-plan period at 4.1 per cent a year, on average. This means that in the subsequent decade (1991-2000) the national income is to grow at an average rate of 5 per cent a year: say, by 4.7 per cent in the 13th, and by 5.3 per cent in the 14th five-year period.

Are these targets realistic? Some

First instalment.

economists believe achieving them to be no problem at all. The U.S.S.R.'s national income has more than doubled in previous fifteen-year periods: from 1951 to 1965, for instance, it grew 3.5 times over (the average annual growth rate being 8.7 per cent), and from 1966 to 1980, 2.3 times over (5.7 per cent a year). Our current objectives look modest by comparison—but only at first glance. The former high rates of economic growth were ensured by conditions—which, alas, no longer obtain—for extended reproduction, first and foremost, by the possibility of

CAPITAL INVESTMENT
Increase in five years
(per cent)



drawing ever more new workers and new sources of cheap raw materials into production. A comparison between the growth rates planned for the 12th five-year period and those our economy registered in the past five-year period (an average of 3.1 per cent a year) will show that the growth rates planned for 1986-90 exceed by a third, and those planned for 1991-2000, by 60 per cent the figure of the early eighties.

Without the restructuring of the economy our national income would grow at an average annual rate of a mere 2.5 per cent in the 12th five-year period, 2 per cent in the 13th five-year period, and 1.5 per cent in the 14th five-year period. Consequently, the growth rates envisaged for the current five-year period are to exceed the "inertia" figure by more than 50 per cent in the current five-year period, 130 per cent in the 13th five-year period, and 250 per cent in the 14th five-year period. Such is the true measure of economic acceleration. This shows the complexity of the tasks that face us, the scale of the effort involved in carrying them out and the enormous reserves that will have to be drawn upon.

The CPSU points to scientific and technological progress as the main factor of acceleration. This is only natural. The progress of civilization has always been a function of the improvement of the tools and techniques of production. This is even more true today when man has come to the brink of a new stage, compared with which the development of productive forces throughout the postwar period may prove a mere prelude to a genuine scientific and technological revolution.

The widespread use of electronics, the advent of biotechnology which has come to supplement mechanical and chemical production techniques, the invention of new materials surpassing natural ones in many respects, the harnessing of thermonuclear fusion—all this provides the prerequisites for an unprecedented growth of labour productivity. In the capitalist world, millions of people are spell-bound by scientific and technological progress, and, at the same time, dread the prospect of new machinery destroying their jobs. Socialism is called upon to dispel these fears, to lay all the achievements of modern science at the service of man. We do not want to—nor can we—evade competing with capitalism in this decisive sphere of the development of productive forces.

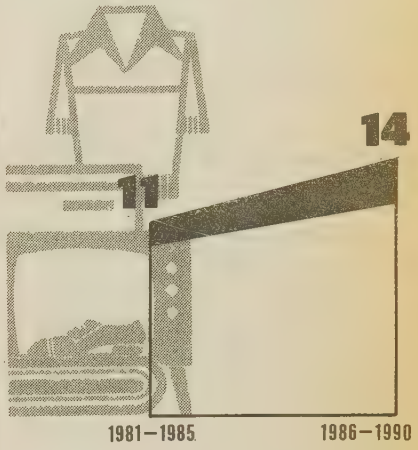
On a Paying Basis

It would seem, at a cursory glance, that the emphasis Soviet Communists place on scientific and technological progress comes from their idolatry of technology, their conviction that pressing social and economic problems can be solved by purely technological means, and that radical changes in the relations of production are not absolutely necessary. In fact, the Party realizes that without such changes it is impossible to speed up scientific and technological progress, and to interest those directly involved in production in it.

The need to encourage industrial plants to manufacture and use new machinery has arisen before. It was pointed out in the CPSU Central Committee report to the 24th Congress, for instance, that it is necessary to create conditions under which industrial plants will be compelled to manufacture the latest goods and seek to introduce scientific and technological innovation rather than shy at it. In practice, all this amounted to was setting obligatory production targets which were supposed to be fulfilled only given the introduction of advanced new technology. Such an approach could have proved fruitful had all the industrial plants exerted themselves to the utmost: in order to keep improving on the standards achieved they would have to get hold of advanced new machinery and master it quickly. In reality, most industrial plants had wide enough margins of production capacity to cope with the plan without retooling, and whatever measures they took to "modernize" were just so much window-dressing.

Speaking of effective stimuli to scientific and technological progress

PER CAPITA REAL INCOME
Increase in five years
(per cent)



today, the CPSU relies not on the plants' administrative responsibility for plan fulfilment, but on the principle of self-support brought to its logical consummation. Money actually earned by the plants themselves—i.e., the part of the profit left at their disposal after fixed deductions to the state budget—is the main material incentive for their work collectives. By gradually curtailing the practice of distributing material resources from centralized stocks, by promoting wholesale trade in the means of production, by encouraging direct links between production plants, by gearing their performance to market requirements, to the needs of the ultimate consumer, the current economic policy of the Party is creating an entirely new situation in the national economy.

The speeding up of scientific and technological progress will also call for organizational restructuring—i.e., for making research and production amalgamations "trail blazers" of sorts whose mission it will be to make technological breakthroughs. The research and production amalgamations will also discharge the functions of consultative engineering centres helping the users to promptly master new machinery. The record of the Kiev research and technological complex headed by Academician Boris Paton shows how short the way can be from an idea through the drawing board stage to the finished product.

Scientific and technological progress cannot be accelerated without a rad-

ical improvement in the state of affairs in capital construction. In order to modernize its equipment, a plant ought to have the requisite funds and to find a company capable of retooling it. The Soviet economy has a modern multi-branch complex to produce building materials and structural components and do all kinds of construction and assembly jobs. At this author's estimate, our building complex is not inferior to that of the United States in capacity. Yet, we build much more slowly than the Americans do, chiefly because we start too many projects simultaneously and this causes dissipation of materials, equipment and building personnel.

The main reason for the dissipation of investment resources is that the state allocations for capital construction are "free." The ability to secure such allocations was regarded, until recently, as a matter of prestige for the plant manager. An end is now being put to this practice. From now on, the number of construction projects being carried out at the same time will be drastically reduced (some of them have been suspended, and some given up altogether). The financing procedure has also been changed.

The construction of **new** plants in **new** (or less developed) industries only will now be financed from the state budget. The plants in operation will earn capital investments by selling high-quality products (and resort to bank loans, where necessary) instead of soliciting the state for them. Banks will charge a high enough interest on credits and issue them only on condition that the recipient guarantees the completion of the objects being credited and that the credits are paid back within the time limits set. In other words, failure to pay back the interest on time will be punished by deducting it from the part of the profit kept by the plant for use as incentives.

This form of self-financing has already been tried out at the Frunze Engineering Amalgamation in Sumy and at the Volga Auto Amalgamation. In a few months another 200 large plants in various industries will adopt this practice.

Making work collectives really interested in using the latest in science and technology, combined with a prompt embodiment of designers' ideas in new items and tighter construction schedules will provide a firm groundwork for the acceleration of scientific and technological progress. These are not mere expedients. Our economic management mechanism is undergoing radical restructuring.

■

August 23 is the anniversary of Romania's liberation from the fascist yoke

The Priorities of Cooperation

The intensification of cooperation on a bilateral and collective basis is an important component of the CMEA countries' strategy of socio-economic development. By pooling their efforts, the participating countries can make better use of the advantages of socialism and accomplish more quickly and efficiently the tasks of building socialism in each of the fraternal countries, including Romania. Much importance is attached in this area to the fulfilment of the goals of a Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress, approved late last year. A recent meeting in Moscow between Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, brought to completion work to define the basic fields of cooperation between the Soviet Union and the CMEA countries to the year 2000. A Long-Term Programme for the Development of Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation between the U.S.S.R. and the Socialist Republic of Romania to the year 2000, signed by the Soviet and Romanian leaders in Moscow, is a remarkable document in many ways.

It broadened the legal base for the two countries to draw closer together objectively called for by their indentical socio-political systems and ideology. At the same time the document contains stipulations relevant to the socialist community as a whole in that they reflect the main trends of its development at the present stage and the general principles of the economic strategy of the fraternal countries.

These are above all the principles of socialist internationalism, comradely mutual assistance and full equality. This also means close interaction between the Communist parties of the Soviet Union and Romania, interaction characterized by mutual trust and the unity of views. Mention should be made too of the determination of both sides to promote cooperation within the Warsaw Treaty Organization and CMEA and to take an active part in carrying out the decisions of the CMEA economic summit and other agreements aimed at expanding socialist economic integration.

The Long-Term Programme, signed by the Soviet Union and Romania, embraces virtually all the main areas of material production. Its fulfilment will help raise economic relations between the U.S.S.R. and Romania to a higher level and contribute to the accomplishment of major objectives in both the economic and the social development of our countries. The programme will be carried out in the period during which the U.S.S.R. will double its economic potential.

The Romanian working people, too, are tackling major socio-economic tasks today. According to the targets set by the Communist Party and the state agencies of Romania, the republic is to achieve a medium world level of economic development during the current five-year-plan period and to become one of the world's more developed countries by the year 2000. Romania is not working for this goal singlehanded but is relying on cooperation with fraternal countries. The programme signed recently is also of special importance to Romania because the U.S.S.R. is its leading trade and economic partner.

The Soviet Union's share of Romania's foreign trade has grown considerably in recent years to reach more than 25 per cent. Romania satisfies a large part of its needs in fuel, power and raw materials from Soviet exports. It has a special interest in Soviet oil supplies because the domestic output (about 11 million tons a year) can keep running a mere third of the country's oil refineries while purchases of oil on the capitalist market demand considerable hard currency reserves. Romania, like other socialist countries, pays for the Soviet oil with commodities needed by the Soviet economy. A considerable increase over the past few years in Soviet oil imports as well as in those of solid fuels (by 20 per cent during the past five-year period), natural gas and electricity has drastically alleviated

Romania's acute energy problem. Soviet exports of iron ore, cast iron, coke, ferrous alloys and cotton also are important to Romanian industry.

The Soviet Union, of course, does not export raw materials alone to Romania: equipment for the engineering, power generating and mining industries and for ships, machinery for the chemical and food and textile industries, aviation technology and manufactured consumer goods from the U.S.S.R. also are important to the Romanian economy.

The Pitesti auto plant has turned out more than one million Dacia cars since it went into operation. These cars are much in demand both in Romania and abroad.
Agerpres-TASS photo

The Soviet Union for its part absorbs a considerable share of Romania's industrial output, such as machinery and equipment for the oil, gas, light and food industries, railway cars, sea and river transport, machine tools, electrical motors and farm technology, which account for roughly 45 per cent of all Romanian exports to the U.S.S.R. This shows that the republic has developed a sizeable production potential and is maintaining efficient trade and economic relations with the Soviet Union.

Trade and economic cooperation between the U.S.S.R. and Romania are developing fast and this is illustrated by the high growth rate in the bilateral trade turnover and an ever increasing number of foreign trade items. Reciprocal supplies will reach a value of 30 billion rubles, almost a 70 per cent increase over the 1981-85 level, during the current five-year-plan period under the long-term agreement.

It is nevertheless necessary to point out that today the further development of bilateral cooperation depends first and foremost on the expansion of specialization and co-production, and reciprocal supplies of commodities produced in this way; this is the key to trade and economic relations between the U.S.S.R. and Romania, as well as with the other fraternal countries.

Expansive forms of cooperation, the boosting of trade turnover through increased Soviet supplies of energy carriers and raw materials in exchange for manufactures and consumer goods, have virtually exhausted their potential. Essential to further progress today is industrial specialization and co-production, and the establishment of direct relations between industries and organizations in the two countries with a view to reciprocal supplies of units, parts and processes produced and developed through specialization, and the setting up, if need be, of joint research, production and marketing amalgamations and enterprises. This holds true first and foremost in engineering, which determines to a large extent the dynamics of economic relations between Romania and the U.S.S.R. Specialization and co-production, regrettably, have not yet been properly developed in this field, although, the proportion of reciprocal supplies of such products in the total Soviet-Romanian trade turnover has reached 18 per cent.

Successful trade relies on the quality of commodities and a great deal is yet to be done in this field. The parties agreed, inter alia, to improve the quality of machinery supplied to each other to meet today's scientific and technological requirements.

Each country has considerable experience in tackling major economic problems which is of interest to the other. Building socialism, Romania has established or modernized more than 130 industrial plants and other projects with Soviet technical assistance. These are the country's leading producers of electricity, coke and metals, machinery and chemicals.

Romania for its part has contributed through cooperation to the expansion of Soviet production of iron-containing raw materials, ferrous alloys, asbestos, cellulose, as well as to the construction of the Soyuz gas pipeline, and is now getting appropriate supplies from the U.S.S.R. This year the South Ukrainian atomic power station and a 750 kW power transmission line from it to Romania and Bulgaria will go into operation and as from 1988, Romania will be getting 5 billion kilowatt hours of electricity a year. Romania's contribution to the development of the Sovetabad gas field in Turkmenia will be paid for with larger Soviet natural gas supplies to the republic. Talks on Romania's participation in the development of the Yamburg gas field and the construction of a gas pipeline between Yamburg and the western border of the U.S.S.R., as well as that of the Krivoi Rog mining and ore dressing complex, are nearing completion.

The Soviet Union and Romania attach the greatest importance to the acceleration of scientific and technological progress as the decisive factor in the intensification of the economy. This means that cooperation should be developed in the priority areas defined by the long-term CMEA Comprehensive Programme of the Scientific and Technological Progress. Between 1986 and 1990, the two nations plan to develop jointly about 50 types of new machinery and equipment and 52 new and improved processes.

The progress of our economic relations is closely linked with cooperation among all CMEA countries, with the expansion of socialist economic intergration. Of principled importance in this respect is the agreement on coordination of economic, scientific and technological policies in a number of branches and on improving the coordination of our economic plans.

These are some of the major aspects of Soviet-Romanian economic intercourse. The economy, of course, is not the only area in which the two countries and peoples are drawing closer together. It is likewise important to work towards this goal in the political, ideological, cultural, and other fields, and steps have been taken recently here as well.

The increased foreign policy coordination, cohesion and unity of the U.S.S.R., Romania and other socialist countries have been growing in importance in the current international situation. The Soviet Union and Romania are resolved to continue energetically and purposefully to pursue a policy of peace, security and international cooperation in conjunction with the other allied socialist countries.

V. ANDREYEV

The Rule and the Exception

or how the F.R.G. authorities shield nazi criminals

At the last session of the Krefeld Court to try the case of the murder at Buchenwald of Ernst Thaelmann, chairman of the Communist Party of Germany and member of the Reichstag, the accused, ex-SS Oberscharfuehrer Wolfgang Otto, displayed no obvious signs of anxiety. In the night of August 17-18, 1944, he and a party of SS-men murdered the German Communist leader. He was sure that this time too he would escape punishment. Even the procurators sitting opposite him said his complicity in the murder of Ernst Thaelmann "had not been proved" and recommended a verdict of not guilty.

When the numerous photo journalists and TV cameramen had left the courtroom, a tense silence set in. As the judges entered everybody rose. Heinz Joseph Paul, the presiding judge, read out the verdict:

"In the name of the people the accused Wolfgang Otto shall be sentenced to a four year term of imprisonment for complicity in the murder of Ernst Thaelmann, ex-chairman of the Communist Party of Germany."

After a moment's pause there was a brief burst of applause followed by silence. At last the murderer of Ernst Thaelmann has been convicted. But surely the sentence is too mild, and has been far too long in coming.

Forty Years of Delay

The names of Thaelmann's murderers have been known since 1947. It was then that the papers published the testimony of Marian Zgoda, a former inmate at Buchenwald.

In the spring of 1961 Ludwig Landwehr, the then chairman of the Association of Victims of Nazi Persecution—the Anti-Fascist Union—in Lower Saxony, established that at least two of Thaelmann's murderers were alive and at large. They were Wolfgang Otto, who taught at a Catholic school in Geldern, in the Rhineland, and Werner Berger who worked at the Rottweil Bank. Ludwig Landwehr filed an application at the Procurator's Office. But it was Landwehr, and not Otto and Berger, who was arrested. His flat was searched and all the material on Thaelmann's murder he had collected disappeared.

In response to a request from Rosa Thaelmann, widow of the German Communist leader, the lawyer Karl Friedrich Kaul approached the Procurator's Office in the F.R.G. in April 1962, demanding that criminal proceedings be instituted against the nazi butchers. The application was forwarded to the Procurator's Office in Cleve. It should be mentioned that a leading official of this body had served at a nazi extraordinary tribunal in the past. The case against Otto and Berger was suspended, because of "lack of evidence."

Hitler's henchmen had nothing to fear in the Federal Republic of Germany. Even Chancellor Konrad Adenauer said the F.R.G. could be rearmed on condition that war criminals were no longer brought to trial. Former SS officers and men were allowed to serve in the Bundeswehr. Dr Hans Globke, the interpreter of the racist laws, was promoted to the post of secretary of state. The Communist Party, which fought persistently against the remilitarization of the F.R.G., was driven underground. In this context it was extremely undesirable for the authorities to try those responsible for the murder of the Communist leader.

"This is a historic decision," said Kurt Bachmann, member of the Presidium of the Board of the German Communist Party and inmate of many nazi concentration camps, who was sitting behind me, when the presiding judge finished reading the sentence.

Of course, it was not the term of imprisonment that Kurt Bachmann had in view. Commenting on the sentence, the publicist Emil Carlebach, who attended the trial in the striped jacket of a Buchenwald inmate, said:

"In principle no sentence, no matter how severe, can be regarded as adequate punishment for the crimes perpetrated by nazism."

And he was right.

What really counted was that the Krefeld Court had abandoned the long-standing tradition of acquitting nazi criminals. The men at the top who issued orders to butcher innocent people were acquitted, because they did not kill anybody personally. The men who actually committed the murders were acquitted because, it was said, they were obeying orders.

At the Krefeld trial both the defence lawyers and the procurators who assumed the duties of defence attorneys followed the same pattern. Taking advantage of the fact that more than 40 years had passed since the crime was perpetrated and also of the fact that many of the witnesses, including Marian Zgoda, were no longer alive, they worked on the assumption that at present it was impossible to prove Otto's personal complicity in the murder of Ernst Thaelmann. But the court would not be led by the defence lawyers and the procurators. That Otto knew about the plotted murder was an indisputable fact. It was he who received all the directives from the Reichskanzelerei for Security Affairs on the execution of Soviet and Polish prisoners of war. And he received the order to murder Thaelmann. And as a trusted agent of the warden, Otto could not but have participated in the preparations for the murder.

The indictment clearly stated that Otto was only one accomplice in the nazi crimes, while many others had escaped punishment.

When Thaelmann's murderer was tried, the role the Communists played in the Resistance Movement and the losses they sustained were bound to be mentioned. Capitalist propaganda has not only sought to hush up their role, but has also libellously accused the Communists of subverting the Weimar Republic, making no distinction between them and the nazis.

Heinrich Hannover, lawyer representing the interests of Irma Thaelmann, said at the trial:

"Who is aware today that it was above all the Communists and left-wing Social Democrats that offered resistance to nazism and that it was they who were murdered on a mass scale in the nazi concentration camps? Over a period of several decades no pains were spared to erase this from public memory, because it did not fit into the political landscape of the country, where the ideology of anti-communist crusades was being revived."

The court put it on record that the Communists and their leader, Ernst Thaelmann, were in the forefront of the fighters against the nazi regime. This was the first time a court in the F.R.G. made such a ruling. It was this ruling that Kurt Bachmann referred to as being of historic importance.

Somebody asked why it was necessary to try the case of the murder of Ernst Thaelmann today. Replying to this question, presiding judge Paul said that nazi crimes should not be forgotten and that lessons should be learnt from the past. It is worth noting that this seemingly obvious truth has also been voiced for the first time. Up to now F.R.G. justice has spared no effort to wipe out all memory of the past.

Referring to the endless delays before the case was tried, Stern stated this was a "legal and political scandal without precedent in postwar history." This

appraisal could be accepted, if it were not for the words "without precedent in postwar history." Regrettably, the F.R.G. has offered too many precedents in harbouring nazi criminals.

The Crime in Hamburg

In Bullenhuser Damm Street in the waterfront district of Hamburg there is a grim four-storey red-brick building dating from the times of the Kaiser. It faces the blank wall of the local brewery. Next to it is a parking lot for the sale of second-hand trucks, which is guarded by watchdogs. Though the building in question looks like a prison, it is in fact a school. During the last war this was one of the 70 branches of the Neuengamme concentration camp. The SS chose this obscure site for a most heinous crime. In the night of April 20-21, 1945, the SS butchers hanged in the school basement 20 children from five to twelve years of age, two French doctors, two Dutch medical attendants and 24 Soviet prisoners of war. The nazis were covering up their tracks. At the Neuengamme concentration camp barbaric nazi doctors conducted monstrous experiments on children. They artificially infected their victims with tuberculosis. Exactly 41 years later, eminent lawyers, relatives of the victims, and former inmates of the Neuengamme concentration camp came from various countries to the city on the Elbe. The International Public Tribunal held its sessions at the school in Bullenhuser Damm. Its purpose was to answer the question of why the SS butchers had escaped punishment in the F.R.G.

As soon as the war ended the British military authorities arrested most of those involved in the crime. In 1946 they were tried in Hamburg. In those days the Western Allies treated the nazis as they deserved. All the accused were sentenced to death. Three criminals did not appear in the dock. They were SS physician Kurt Heissmeyer who experimented on children, Hans Klein who helped him, and SS Obersturmfuehrer Arnold Strippel, head of the concentration camp branches in Hamburg.

Heissmeyer was arrested in Magdeburg in 1964. As distinct from the F.R.G., the G.D.R. has accepted the principles of the Nuremberg International Military Tribunal as national rules of law. Heissmeyer was not tried for ordinary murder, nor as an ordinary criminal as nazi criminals are tried in the F.R.G. The District Court of Magdeburg found the accused guilty of crimes against humanity and sentenced him to life imprisonment. Hans Klein, who was then living in the F.R.G., was never tried for experiments on human beings. Till the day of his death eighteen months ago he taught forensic medicine at Heidelberg University.

As for Arnold Strippel, he is still leading the life of an ordinary pensioner in Frankfort on the Main.

The F.R.G. bodies of justice did not lift a finger to find the criminals. Every effort was made to consign the mass murder committed in Bullenhuser Damm to oblivion. And if the attempt failed, this was due to the antifascists, former inmates of the Neuengamme concentration camp and the relatives of the victims. Thanks to their efforts, memorial plaques have been placed on the façade of the school and in the entrance hall, and a permanent photographic display has been opened in the basement. There were people who did not like this. And in April 1980 an improvised bomb exploded at the entrance. Fortunately, nobody was hurt. Later it was established that the bomb had been planted by neonazis. But the local judicial authorities are just as lenient with the neonazis as with their Third Reich antecedents. After brief preliminary detention the terrorists were released.

Guenther Schwarberg, a Stern reporter, investigated the crime in Bullenhuser Damm over the course of many years. In 1979 he published in Stern a series entitled "SS Physician and Children." After that it was brought out as a book. Schwarberg even found the relatives of the children the nazis had murdered.

Regrettably, nothing is known about the Soviet prisoners of war who were executed along with the children. When the accused were court-martialled by the British, they admitted that the Soviet prisoners of war offered them resistance. Delivered to the school building, they attacked the butchers, crying "Hurrah!" The only weapon they had was common salt with which they tried to blind the SS guards. In an unequal fight three prisoners were killed, but six or seven managed to get away.

At a session of the International Public Tribunal in Hamburg, Leonid Maisky, an engineer from Riga and vice-president of the International Committee of Former Neuengamme Prisoners, testified. He told me that though he had tried hard to learn about the escaped prisoners of war he had failed. But the present author would like to believe that someone has survived and managed to get home. If he happens to read this article we would be grateful if he would let us know. This is important in order to establish all the circumstances of the crime committed in Bullenhuser Damm.

SS Obersturmfuehrer Arnold Strippel started his career as a warder at Sachsenburg concentration camp. Today he is a respectable citizen of Frankfort on the Main.

"A Typical Case"

Arnold Strippel might have met Wolfgang Otto in Buchenwald. Both belonged to the senior hierarchy of the nazi concentration camp system. But as distinct from Wolfgang Otto, Arnold Strippel never stayed in the same place for long. His superiors moved him from one concentration camp to another, because he was a zealous organizer of mass murders. Arnold Strippel left a trail of blood wherever he went, in Alsace, Maidanek, Peenemuende, Vught in the occupied Netherlands, and finally in Hamburg.

When the British entered Hamburg, SS Obersturmfuehrer Strippel put on the uniform of a Wehrmacht private and fled to northern Germany—to Schleswig-Holstein. He remained in hiding with friends for three years.

Then in 1948 Strippel decided he no longer had anything to fear. He turned up in a U.S. camp for internees, where he easily obtained the papers required for life as a free citizen. However, a few days later he ran into a former inmate of Buchenwald. This happened in Frankfurt on the Main.

Strippel was tried. But only for the crimes he had committed in Buchenwald. The court sentenced him to 21 life terms for complicity in the murder of 21 victims plus another ten-year term "for an infinite number of serious bodily injuries" he had inflicted on prisoners. In Butzbach Prison Strippel was given a rather comfortable cell.

In May 1965 Helmut Muenzberg, investigating officer of the Procurator's Office in Hamburg, visited him there. The Procurator's Office had received a letter from Rudolf Gottschalk, chairman of the Committee of Former Buchenwald Prisoners, who wanted to know whether the Office had investigated the murder of children at the school in Hamburg, in which Strippel's complicity was suspected. If an investigation had been conducted, what were the results? Of course, nobody had investigated the crime. Muenzberg, who had lived all his life in Hamburg, had never heard of the crimes in Bullenhuser Damm. More than that, the Procurator's Office had no papers on the Neuengamme concentration camp where at least 55,000 victims had been exterminated. Nobody knew what had happened to the records of the British court martial. At long last Muenzberg found them in Bad Godesberg in the basement of the British Embassy.

Strippel told the investigating officer that he had learnt of the murder of the children "only after the war." Strippel further explained that the accused who testified to his direct complicity in the crimes at the Hamburg trial in 1946, wished to shift the entire blame to him. Muenzberg, convinced by the ex-SS Obersturmfuehrer, wrote in his report that it was impossible to prove Strippel's guilt, because none of the other accomplices were alive.

As far as the execution of the Russians was concerned, Muenzberg believed they had "probably been sentenced to death on legitimate grounds." (Wolfgang Otto also maintains that the mass shooting of Soviet prisoners of war in Buchenwald was not a crime, but an "act of revenge for the killing of German soldiers on the Eastern Front.") Killing of children was not cruel, he said, because all the nazis had done to them was to take their lives, "inflicting no other harm on them." The Procurator's Office found these cynical arguments satisfactory and dismissed the investigation.

Meanwhile the courts in Frankfurt on the Main reopened Strippel's case in several stages. One of the courts reduced the ten-year term for inflicting grave bodily injuries to five and commuted the 21 life terms to six years' imprisonment. It turned out that Strippel had served at Butzbach Prison 11 years and eight days too many. The ex-SS Obersturmfuehrer was awarded DM 121,500 in compensation and released.

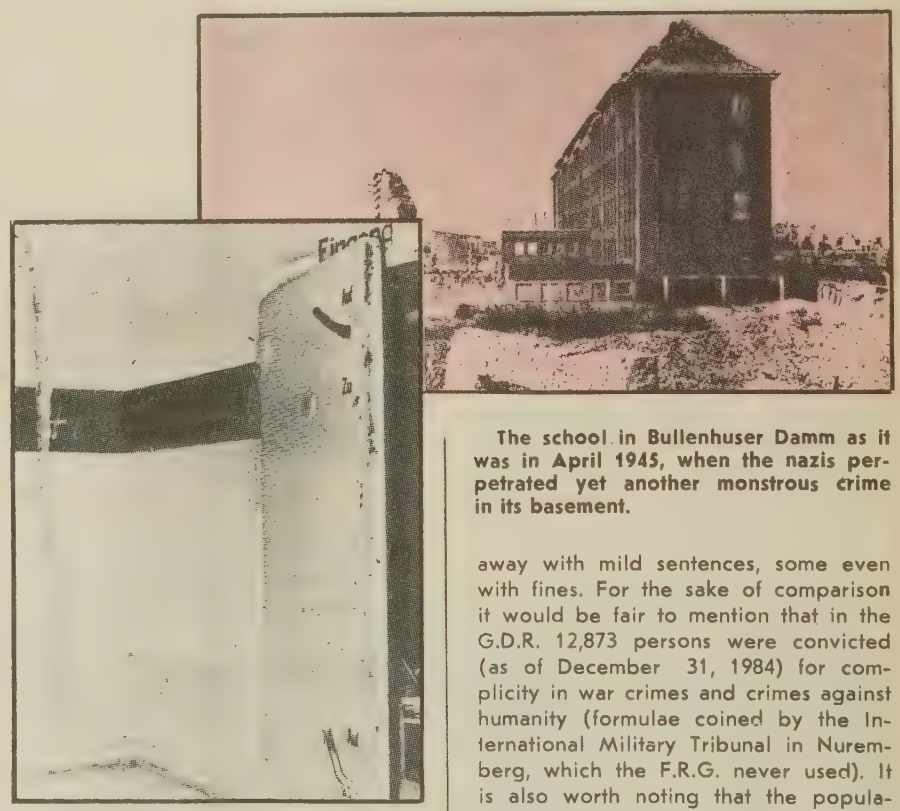
In 1975 a group of SS officers and men were tried in Düsseldorf for the murder of 250,000 inmates of Maidanek. Strippel was in the dock too. He was accused only of killing 42 Soviet prisoners of war. The trial lasted six years. And Strippel was sentenced to three and a half years' imprisonment. This time he did not spend a day in jail the court found his health was "delicate."

When Guenther Schwarberg published his findings in Stern, the relatives of the children murdered in Bullenhuser Damm filed a complaint at the Procurator's Office in Hamburg. The investigating officers reluctantly started the inquiry. It would perhaps still be going on, but in 1973 the Hamburg Senate instructed the procurator to present an indictment. After that the court dragged its feet. For instance, the judges did not like the translation of the multivolume records and files of the British court martial in 1946 and ordered a new translation. The judges repeatedly delayed the hearings till early in 1986 Strippel submitted a medical certificate giving him legal immunity.

This is the story (outlined here in brief) that emerged at the International Public Tribunal in Hamburg. The Tribunal under presiding judge Professor Martin Hirsch, former member of the Federal Constitutional Court of the F.R.G., stated:

"The policies of the Procurator's Office in Hamburg objectively helped drag out the case against Strippel till he was declared not sui juris." It also pointed out that "the refusal to prosecute those accused of the crime in Bullenhuser Damm is not an exception, but rather a typical case indicative of the treatment nazi criminals get from F.R.G. bodies of justice."

A short while ago the F.R.G. made public the following statistics. As from May 8, 1945, the Procurator's Offices started to prepare charges against 90,921 nazi criminals. Out of them only 6,479 were convicted. However, the overwhelming majority of these got away with mild sentences, some even with fines. For the sake of comparison it would be fair to mention that in the G.D.R. 12,873 persons were convicted (as of December 31, 1984) for complicity in war crimes and crimes against humanity (formulae coined by the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg, which the F.R.G. never used). It is also worth noting that the population of the G.D.R. is only a third of that of the F.R.G. In addition, as a rule, nazi criminals tried to find refuge in the F.R.G.



The school in Bullenhuser Damm as it was in April 1945, when the nazis perpetrated yet another monstrous crime in its basement.

Strippel's case is typical of the F.R.G. The conviction of Wolfgang Otto is an exception. But even so the sentence was passed after a 40-year delay. However, Otto's defence lawyers and procurators, discomfited, have already filed an appeal with the court of superior jurisdiction. As the West German weekly Die Zeit puts it, "even if this appeal is dismissed, Otto is unlikely to be jailed on account of old age."

A. TOLPEGIN,
Our Own Correspondent

Hamburg—Krefeld—Bonn

Why the Boeing Did Not Answer

From Our Own Correspondent
ANDREI ARKHIPOV

Three years ago the intrusion of a South Korean airliner into Soviet airspace marked the beginning of a far-reaching spy operation worked out in Washington against the Soviet Union. How this gross provocation ended is common knowledge.

Many in the West at the time were caught up in a frenzy of anti-Soviet hysteria, in the whipping up of which the U.S. President himself, Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger, Secretary of State George Shultz and their advisers had a direct hand. The International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), under obvious pressure from "interested parties," concluded at the time that the South Korean Boeing 747 airliner's 500-kilometre departure from course could have been the result of an autopilot error or the feeding of erroneous information into the plane's computer by mistake.

But little by little the true picture began to emerge. Soviet and many Western experts convincingly showed what was behind the action and who stood to gain from it. Today fewer and fewer people in the U.S.A. still believe that it was a matter of the plane straying off course by chance.

Today ICAO's Air Navigation Bureau soberly concedes that it is "difficult to validate and endorse either of the two scenarios." The Japanese Self-Defence Forces, acceding to a request for information from a member of the Japanese parliament, has released radar tracking information revealing that the crew of the plane did not inform the Soviet authorities of its national origin. All the information transmitted from the plane was deliberately false, writes the weekly Shukan Shincho, citing a former official of the Japanese Defence Agency.

Today we have also the testimony of U.S. National Security Agency electronic reconnaissance expert James Bamford that the NSA was to follow the KAL 007 and to keep Washington posted.

The facts are coming into the light of day slowly, for someone is obviously out to keep them in the dark. Bit by bit a picture emerges which totally refutes the arguments of the U.S. Administration. This explains why Americans are more and more insistently demanding an answer from the government and Congress to the questions that arise.

It was not by chance that **John Keppel,** former State Department official, now retired, undertook a study of the facts relating to KAL 007. This was made clear by my interview with him.

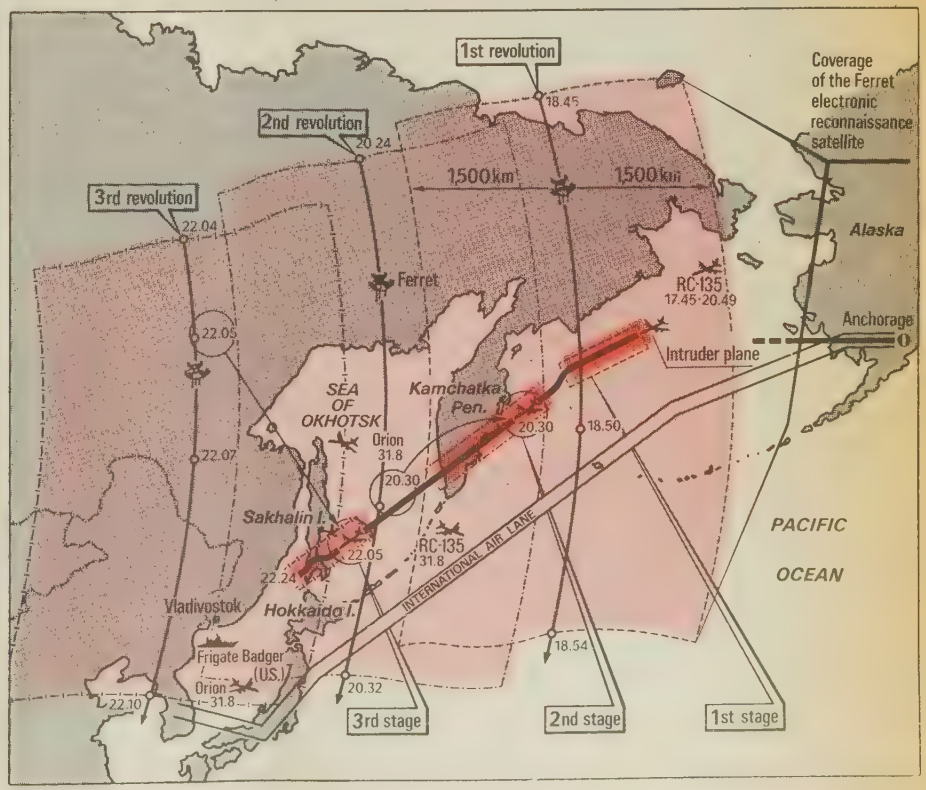
"I was with the State Department for many years," he said. "Served in Moscow, and was one of those who advised the U.S. President to use the version that was chosen as a cover-up for the flight of the U-2 spy plane. At that time I was in the wrong."

"Why did you take up this inquiry?"

"I considered it important. As soon as I learnt of the incident from the press, the version of the U.S. Administration did not strike me as any too plausible. Airline passengers must not be allowed to be exposed to risk."

Keppel was asked by the Fund for Constitutional Government, a public organization, to undertake the investiga-

The pattern of the American spy operation in which the South Korean airlines flight 007 was involved. Other components of this large-scale operation were two RC-135 reconnaissance planes, one of which followed the flight of the South Korean Boeing and the other flew over the area of the Kuril Islands; Orion reconnaissance aircraft (over the Okhotsk and Japan seas); the Ferret spy satellite; the frigate Badger (in the Sea of Japan) and land-based tracking stations.



tion. The inquiry took the form of answers to four key questions.

1 DID THE U.S. GOVERNMENT TAKE PART IN A COVER-UP OF THE FACTS?

Right at the outset the government seems to have acted to slow down the flow of news in the case. The evidence suggests it planted a false story that KAL 007 was down on Sakhalin Island and that the passengers were safe. This story had the effect of delaying the breaking of the news of the disaster and enabling the government to maximize the story's use for propaganda purposes, and decide which pieces of evidence to suppress and which would sooner or later require falsification.

Moreover, the U.S. government:

— unprecedentedly pulled the National Transportation Safety Board off the case. The Board is an independent-minded outfit, well qualified to investigate airline disasters;

— demanded that all relevant documents be turned over to the Department of State;

— influenced the ICAO in its report to put forward two hypothetical "innocent" explanations of the flight which do not fit the known facts in the case;

— erased a key U.S. Air Force radar tape despite standing orders that all records relating to accidents and incidents must be preserved;

— warned military and Federal Aviation Administration personnel not to discuss the case;

— on more than one occasion intervened to discourage the publication of critical material on the KAL 007 case;

— resorted to misleading statements and outright misstatements to discredit critics.

The U.S. government initially denied that the Soviet fighter pilots fired warning shots, but then conceded the fact, maintaining, however, that the sound of firing was not clearly recorded on the tape, although it has been established that the shots could be heard on an ordinary tape recorder.

There is, moreover, evidence that another key tape, the Japanese air traffic control tape of communications with KAL 007 and another South Korean flight, KAL 015, has been falsified. (The second South Korean plane was following the route that should have been taken by the KAL 007 in order, many believe, to act as a dummy KAL 007 and thus confuse tracking. The pilot of flight 015 preferred to retire rather than tell the truth and preserve his well-paid job and is now virtually under house arrest in South Korea—**A.A.**) Some communications recorded on the tape were intentionally misleading, and the official transcript gives an incorrect rendering of these exchanges.

2 DID THE U.S. GOVERNMENT KNOW AT THE TIME THAT KAL 007 WAS DANGEROUSLY OFF COURSE HEADING FOR SOVIET AIRSPACE?

Existing tapes show that as KAL 007 was entering the so-called buffer zone adjacent to Soviet airspace, someone in the controllers' space at the U.S. Air Route Traffic Control Centre in Anchorage discussed warning the airliner but did not do so. The information on which the American controllers' knowledge was based seems likely to have come from U.S. Air Force radars on the Alaskan coast, either directly transmitted to the U.S. Anchorage centre or indirectly relayed by telephone from the U.S. Air Force Regional Operations Control Centre at Elmendorf Air Force base. Subsequently, speaking to a Soviet U.N. delegate, a U.S. United Nations delegate said: "We followed you following the flight." The U.S. Secretary of State maintained that the Soviet side tracked the South Korean airliner for two and a half hours. These contentions, together with the numerous findings and testimony of experts, leave no doubt that the Americans knew exactly where the airliner was.

Lastly, there are reports from a person at the radar station on Shemya Island at the time and from a crew member of the American RC-135 reconnaissance plane north of Shemya that they identified KAL 007 and tracked it over a prolonged period of time.

3 IS THERE EVIDENCE OF PRIOR PLANNING IN THE KAL 007 INCIDENT?

If the course KAL 007 followed according to the military and civilian U.S. radar data from Anchorage to Bethel had been continued it would have been well to the south of the route we know KAL 007 took. The turn to the north that was made had nothing to do with its assigned course, and, for various tactical reasons, had to be made intentionally. The White House and the United States U.N. Ambassador maintained that KAL 007 followed a straight course. Yet the evidence is that had it followed a straight course it would have taken it south of Soviet territory.

The crew of the South Korean airliner could not but have seen the warning shots. The pilot could have rocked his wings, flashed cabin lights, or otherwise signalled that he was prepared to obey instructions. Instead, the plane slowed down sharply, and two minutes later again increased its speed from 430 to 450 knots. The pilot knew he had been intercepted and resorted to evasive action to throw off his pursuer.

4 IS THE UNITED STATES IMPLICATED IN ALL THIS?

If the KAL 007 flight over Soviet territory was intentional, the initiative could only have come either from the South Korean government or the government of the United States. There is no reason to suppose that Seoul was the initiator.

For one thing, in missions of this sort the initiator must possess the technical wherewithal for tracking each stage of the flight. The U.S. was in a position to do so. South Korea was not.

Secondly, it was clearly the U.S. and not South Korea that was the beneficiary of the operation. The data of the investigation includes the testimony of the U.S. Air Force chief of staff General Charles Gabriel as regards the intelligence value of the flight which showed Soviet communications and air defence systems in action. (The general's admission obviously was not intended for the broad public—**A.A.**) According to Gabriel, he had obtained a good idea of what happened from the moment of intrusion into Soviet airspace to the termination of the intrusion.

There is evidence of U.S. prior planning. North of Shemya KAL 007 crossed paths with the U.S. electronic intelligence aircraft, RC-135, which dived down under Soviet radar thereby no doubt helping to confuse the Soviet side as to the identity of the aircraft about to enter its airspace. Western experts established that a U.S. electronic intelligence satellite in Polar orbit was in a position to register the Soviet radar activity stirred up by the KAL 007 flight.

The tapes of the Japanese air traffic control and of the Self-Defence Forces of communications between the South Korean planes and the Soviet interceptor show signs of having been tinkered with. There seem to be only two possibilities here: that the tapes were altered by the Japanese government or by that of the United States. However, there is no reason to think that the Japanese government was involved in planning the flight and hence had no motive to falsify evidence to protect itself, though it appears to have withheld a good deal of evidence on behalf of someone else. In view of the

Japanese-South Korean relations Seoul could hardly be that "someone else."

Such are the answers to the questions raised by John Keppel. They are noteworthy indeed.

Noteworthy too is what the chief pilot of the airliner told his wife just before take-off: "Never again, this was my last trip, it's too dangerous." And so is the fact that just before the flight he received a large sum of money from unknown sources for altering the course of the plane.

5 "DID THE FUND ACHIEVE ITS OBJECTIVE?" YOUR CORRESPONDENT PUT THIS QUESTION TO GEORGIA CALDWELL, WHO DIRECTED THE INVESTIGATION SPONSORED BY THE FUND FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT.

"The Fund is not trying to be judge and jury in the case," she replied. "It has been seeking to establish a level of evidence comparable to that necessary for indictment in a criminal case, which would make a rigorous Congressional investigation obligatory. We believe that more than enough evidence now exists to meet the requirement."

Georgia Caldwell's answer is supplemented in a way by Oliver Clubb, the author of the book "KAL Flight 007: The Hidden Story" put out recently in the U.S. "Is it really conceivable that those who govern our own country are capable of doing what the foregoing account suggests they did?... Are we to believe that American leaders are in fact capable of knowingly gambling with the lives of innocent people?" he asks. "The answer is that our national leaders have done so repeatedly when they thought they were playing for high stakes in the struggle against 'the communist enemy.' "

Clubb recalls the fifties when U.S. servicemen were sent out on nuclear exercises where they were exposed to lethal doses of radiation. And the decision to cross the 38th Parallel in the war in Korea, and the bombing of North Vietnam and Cambodia.

Why do people constantly revert to the KAL 007 tragedy? Those who engineered this provocation, the death of unsuspecting passengers, cannot be forgiven, or the fact that our nuclear-ridden planet was brought to the brink of disaster.

New York

Friedrich Dürrenmatt's Accursed Problems

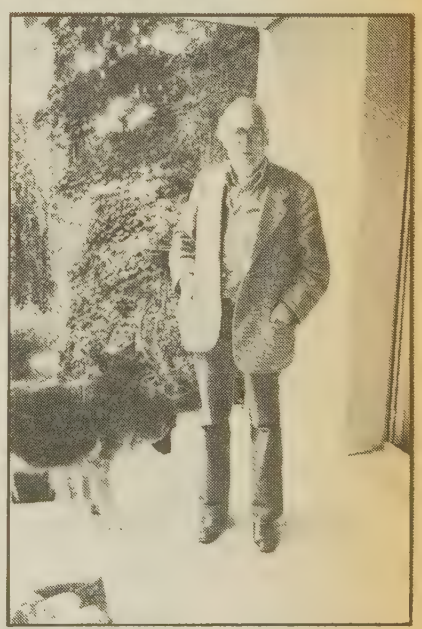
Friedrich Dürrenmatt, the distinguished Swiss author, is admired for his inquiring analysis of world events, his desire to get down to the essence of phenomena, his ability to provoke thought about that eternal antagonism between good and evil, love and hate. His themes range from ancient Greece to Tibetan medicine, and the vital values of today.

His energetic nature impels him to travel far and wide and this explains why it is so difficult to interview him. His secretary fixed the date and described in circumstantial detail what to do to reach the writer's secluded residence on the outskirts of Neuchâtel. Nevertheless, I spent more time than I had thought circling around the suburbs of this town in southwestern Switzerland before I eventually found the house.

His study is simply furnished with only favourite items plus the dictionaries and encyclopaedias he needs for his writing. True, there is a music centre and a record on the turntable; Friedrich Dürrenmatt likes to take time off occasionally to listen to classical music. As he descended the staircase, his step was cautious: only recently he had a heart attack. He has the high forehead of the thinker and a piercing stock-taking gaze. With a wave of the hand he invited me to begin the interview.

"According to The Financial Times you attempt to say in your latest play 'Achterloo' that the whole world is one vast madhouse," I observed, showing him the newspaper clipping.

"When I was working on that play," Dürrenmatt replied pensively, "I thought that this world of ours is plunged in a maze of diverse contradictions and problems. People rush around the coils of absurdity, prejudice and suspicion, and looking on one wants to shout: 'Stop quarrelling, be normal!' Remember what Hitler did with Germany and how he then tried to turn the entire world into a nazi barracks. Are not misanthropy, national intolerance, chauvinism and violence characteristic of the madhouse? So I used the grotesque to show that the strivings of those who think themselves 'second Napoleons' with the entire world at their feet are ridiculous, but extremely dangerous in this thermonuclear age. 'Achterloo'



Friedrich Dürrenmatt at home in Neuchâtel.

symbolizes the breakdown of personality; it is a murky world wherein megalomania and dictatorial clublaw are taken for granted, while normality is the exception. However, let me note once again, this is a grotesque, and a warning to certain contemporary politicians who are playing with words and the destinies of nations.

"Faced with extremely acute global

issues, seeking a livelihood and coping with moral and ethical problems, our average man of today," Dürrenmatt continued, "is in roughly the same situation as primitive man was in the virgin forest. True, such parallels are always tentative and conventional. Due to the promulgation of animosity, hate and nonacceptance of other nations and their way of life, he has become suspicious and wary. He is also struggling for survival today 'at the nuclear level.'

"Why is it that some generals get a kick out of killing off their like even though they do not devour their victims as the Minotaur of ancient legend did? Why is violence taken for granted, why is it now a way of life in the crazed world of dictators and maniacs in generals' uniforms? Take the TV screen, which shows nothing but slaughter and bloodshed. Sad to say, this is apparently to the liking of the modern 'minotaurish' Babbitt, so comfortably ensconced in his warm slippers before his TV; he enjoys seeing the vicarious destruction of others, and himself as a mirror image of the superman."

"Do you mean to say that the human being today is worse than our primitive antecedents in the forest?"

"Of course not, but to me man's behaviour is an enigma, a source of paradox. Life today abounds in contradictions. Today we see at the same time breathtaking space flights and starvation in Africa. Mountains of arms are amassed, while only a few cents are needed to buy the medicine that could save a child's life."

Edifying Message

"In your play 'Sin Engel Kommt nach Babylon' ('An Angel Comes to Babylon'), despite good intentions universal catastrophe ensues as a consequence of man's inability to find a common language."

"Babylon has an edifying message for us all. We must break down the wall of mistrust and suspicion and stop to think about what we are doing to the Earth. What is peace today? Merely the absence of war. Man must admit that it is more natural, whatever the ancients may have thought, not to prepare for war, but to strive for peace. Many are starving, let me repeat, but at the same time more and more novel and increasingly costly means of destruction are devised with the money that should feed the starving. About a trillion dollars annually are spent around the world on armaments and by comparison only a miserable pittance goes to fight hunger. This absurd state of affairs must be stopped."

"You once observed that an error on the part of a single individual could destroy the earth."

"I have discussed that at length with Americans. We do not need the 'star wars' programme, which is senseless at its very root. Illusory designs for a 'space shield' are highly dangerous. Tragedy may occur in a matter of minutes, even seconds in the 21st century. We have entered the age of the new technological revolution, when the computer is the universal ideal before which the military also bow their heads. A mistake on the part of the computer—let us imagine such a hypothetical situation for a moment—and missiles on the alert will bring about senseless slaughter and the death of civilization. How are we to use our intellectual achievements? For man's good? Or for his destruction? Do we not stand on the brink of the abyss of not being, of colossal catastrophe? There are those accursed problems for you! And those who have conceived 'star wars' should also ask this of themselves. It is naive to think a 'space shield' will allow the Americans to look on calmly as other nations perish. It is sheer hypocrisy to think President Reagan can play at being another Noah.

"I have written much about the dangers inherent in that enclosed little world of the 'little man,' whom chauvinistic shots in the arm turn into a warlike marauder. Yet his megalomania is merely the offshoot of the crazed hankerings of the men at the helm of the state in the society in which I live.

"Today the storm clouds have gathered. The Soviet people know what war is like, but in the United States they cannot visualize its blood-stained face. The 'average American' thinks war is like a tornado in Southern Florida, when the destruction can be swiftly dealt with and the damages written off, whereupon everything continues as before. Many in the U.S. entertain the illusion that war will not reach them across the ocean and be confined exclusively to the Old World. For many Americans, especially in the outback, the warnings scientists issue as to the catastrophic consequences of nuclear war are only sound and fury. Nor does the Pentagon take these warnings seriously. All I can say is that certain quarters across the ocean have always waxed fat on war. But can we in this nuclear age destroy the 'enemy' and ourselves survive? Such calculations by American strategists are both ridiculous and dangerous. In the nuclear conflagration everyone—aggressor and victim—will perish."

Friedrich Dürrenmatt is a tremendous admirer of Ancient Greece. In his writings he often draws upon ancient myths and legends. But he always seeks to establish a link between antiquity and today. He wants to understand what makes man, though born good, become criminal, what forces him to cross the invisible border between good and evil.

"To understand the root of evil," he says, "is to indicate a way out of the moral blind alley, to offer an alternative to a society terminally threatened by man's inhumanity to man, although, sadly, 'humanizing' the inhuman is a lengthy and far from easy business."

The Socratic View

"On the subject of ethics I feel I must point out how contemporary Socrates' thinking is. I can almost see him declaiming in the square: 'Oh, my young Athenian, it is vanity that peeps out through the holes in your robe.' What a topical ring that has nowadays when some vain politicians try to make whole nations playthings to further their ambitions! What a contemporary ring Socrates' ideas on ethics and human conduct have! Or take his fearless seeking after truth, courage and virtue, provided of course that we forget for a moment that he owned slaves. Incidentally, unlike Plato, he never urged that the writings of his materialist opponents be burned. Remember his philosophical attitude to fame and death. Or his famous 'All that I know is that I know nothing.' Surely that is a lodestar for anyone beginning his life. I'm writing a play about that at the moment. I have crafty Socrates dying twice, once pretending to do so in Athens, to see how his disciples and others will take it, and again, later in Syracuse. This will be a facetious comedy which hits out both at Plato and the 'black colonels' of the time."

"But didn't you have that in your play 'Der Prozess um des Esels Schatten'?"

"The ambitions and fiascos of the Greek oracles are classical hypocrisy. Some politicians of today should not think themselves innovative prophets. There have been hot-air political parties before them and arms merchants have long profited by exploiting the vanity of politicians."

"May I in this connection quote a passage from your play in which Thykidides, the director of a weapons factory in Corinth, says that he 'offers in your battle for the noblest ideals and peace, help in the shape of top-quality swords, especially handy for civil wars and street fighting, at the lowest prices.'"

"Yes, the arms business was there even before the arms barons of today," Dürrenmatt observed with a smile. "In antiquity, the makers of deadly weapons also had an eye to their profits, and advertised their wares in the same way as they promote novel means of warfare and new means of annihilation today."

"In your play Captain Tiphys assures Macedonia that to become a 'great power' it needs camels. It needs, he said, a 'host of camels, as a well-trained camel cavarly would serve to bring all Greece to its knees inasmuch as camels stand much higher than Greek horses.' Could not we draw parallels between Tiphys' ideas and the schemes of certain modern generals, who crave by means of a celestial 'camel cavalry' to bridle the entire world? Even though this analogy might seem curious to some."

"Of course, we could. But, as you know, every poison has its antidote. At first, we had ordinary cavalries, which were subsequently superceded, for instance, by camel cavalries. Battleships and cruisers brought submarines in their wake. Against aircraft we now have missiles. 'Star wars' will also beget its own antidote. That cannot go on indefinitely. Human history proves that eventually the loaded gun goes off. However, our times differ from the Hellenic era in that a nuclear salvo will be fatal.

"The question before humanity today is how to survive. The problem of 'being or not being' is a philosophical one, which demands a scientific approach that would be fully applicable under communism as the ideal social system. Communism affords the human intellect the utmost freedom. But we must never forget how difficult it is to make this system a reality. People are not ideal. The transition from one form of social organization to another is an extremely complex process."

In Dürrenmatt's writings and plays the analysis of the connection between money and power looms large. What has induced this bitter protest?

"Money feeds power, and money also corrupts," Dürrenmatt says. "Such is the substance of the society in which the laws of the wolfpack dominate. It is these brutal laws that I oppose."

"How would you define your creative method?"

"If you were to ask Mozart, were he alive today, the secret behind his music he would probably say B, B-flat and again B. So writers have letters, words, and lines. Speaking seriously, I personally continue to work all the time on many of my writings even after publication. I try to improve them all the time; I cannot help it."

Dürrenmatt as Artist

Friedrich Dürrenmatt not only writes prose and plays. He also draws. Indeed, only recently there was an exhibition of his drawings in the local museum.

"You see, I started out drawing, as I wanted to become an artist," Dürrenmatt said. "Only later I took up writing. When I discovered drama for myself I first drew the characters and only then wrote the text. I adore cartoons. I also do portraits. I see the purpose of creative art in both those pursuits as they help man to create, and not destroy. To achieve that one must unlock the doors of his mind and heart. For instance, when I drew for newspapers I tried to put across a visual concept of, for instance, nuclear weapons, the Bomb, as a monster destroying the Earth. The Earth threatened with destruction is one subject of the 130 of my drawings exhibited in Neuchâtel."

"Allow me, before we end, to put the traditional question: what would you like to say to readers in the Soviet Union?"

"Today the world has more anxieties than when I began to write. It has more sick, miserable, and hungry people. But I do not despair. On the contrary. Let us give thought to the common destinies of nations. Let us banish that phantom of a third world war in order to allow people to devote more time to their children and grandchildren, to enjoy their pleasures and look after their own affairs. The paramount thing today is to halt the slide towards war, do away with missiles and bombs once and for all, to have the laughter and smiles of children prized more than gold, and prevent politicians and militarists from perpetrating their deceptions.

"Russian and Soviet literature has always been a model of concern for the destiny of mankind. I once discussed that with Ilya Ehrenburg. Gogol, Tolstoi, Dostoyevsky, Chekhov are the quintessence of the experience humanity has accumulated, a veritable ocean of knowledge about people and society. I adore Chekhov's 'Kashtanka.' Gogol's 'Evenings on a Farm Near Dikanka' is a masterpiece. My 'Achterloo' is derived from Gogol's 'Diary of a Madman' and reflections on man's misfortunes and the eternal search for perfection.

"I would like to wish the Soviet people happiness and peace," said Friedrich Dürrenmatt as we parted.

V. KUZNETSOV

Neuchâtel—Geneva

PEOPLE ON THE WORLD SCENE

Branko Mikulic, elected President of the Federal Executive Council of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia at a session of the federal parliament, was born on June 10, 1928, in the town of Gornji Vakuf (Bosnia and Herzegovina). Croatian by nationality, he completed his studies at the Higher School of Economics in Zagreb. Active in the national liberation fight since 1943, Branko Mikulic joined the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in 1945.

After the war, Branko Mikulic held various posts in the socio-political organizations and administrative bodies of Bosnia and Herzegovina. He was elected chairman of the people's committee in Bugojno, secretary of the district committees of the League of Communists in the cities of Bugojno, Jajce, Livno, Zenica, and president of the parliament of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

From 1964 to 1967, Branko Mikulic was Secretary of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia and Herzegovina and later, secretary of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the republic's League of Communists. In 1967 he was President of the Executive Council of the republic's parliament. From 1969 to 1978, Branko Mikulic held the post of president of the Central Committee of the Communist League of Bosnia and Herzegovina and, by virtue of his position, was a member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LCY. At the 11th LCY Congress (1978) he was reelected member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee and then elected its President for the term of one year. In 1982 Branko Mikulic was elected President of the Presidium of Bosnia and Herzegovina and in 1984—member of the Presidium of the S.F.R.Y.

At the 13th Congress of the LCY (1986), Branko Mikulic was elected to the LCY Central Committee.

Branko Mikulic holds a number of high government distinctions.

YOU ASK...

I know that Spain and Britain have been arguing about the issue of sovereignty over Gibraltar for many years. Could you give the history of the problem in detail, and say whether there have been any new developments in the "litigation" between Madrid and London?

Nikolai TUGARIN
Shchelykovo U.S.S.R.

The Key to the Mediterranean

Gibraltar is Great Britain's only colonial possession on the European continent and one of the few remaining colonies in the world. A narrow limestone rock, with an area of no more than 6.5 sq. km., it has for several centuries been an object of armed and diplomatic conflict. The keen interest of Spain and Great Britain and, of late, the U.S. and other NATO countries with regard to Gibraltar, is not fortuitous. Its situation at the mouth of the Mediterranean Sea where it opens into the Atlantic Ocean makes Gibraltar a key point for controlling one of the world's most important shipping routes —the Strait of Gibraltar.

Rock of Contention

The first people to appreciate the military-strategic advantages of Gibraltar were the Arabs. In the year 711 Arab-Berber hordes led by Tariq ibn Zaid invaded the Iberian Peninsula at this point. After settling in Spain, the Moors perpetuated the memory of this general, naming the cape "Jebel el-Tarik" (Mount Tarik). Gradually, with the passage of time, it came to be known as "Gibraltar."

Only in the mid-15th century did Spain, by that time at last united, succeed in retaking Gibraltar. Isabella the Catholic, Queen of Castile, who then ruled Spain, looked upon Gibraltar as the key to her possessions and she bequeathed its care to her descendants. However, in 1704, during the war for the Spanish succession, the British captured the fortress on Gibraltar; up to that time it had been thought to be the most impregnable fortress in Europe. Admiral George Rooke had the British flag hoisted over the Rock and in 1713 the Treaty of Utrecht ceded Gibraltar to the British Crown. From then on Gibraltar was a powerful British naval base, and more recently an Air Force base as well. London used it as a stronghold for its expansion in the East. Today too the fortress continues to play an important part in Whitehall's Mediterranean strategy. Moreover, according to a statement made by Margaret Thatcher, Gibraltar is Great Britain's "worthy contribution" to NATO.

Spain has repeatedly attempted to regain possession of the stronghold resorting to both diplomacy and arms. The last and most severe of these

attempts was the siege of 1779-83, known in English history as the "great" siege. However, it did not bring Spain the desired victory.

Spain again asserted its right to Gibraltar in 1940, but World War II put off a solution to the problem. Gibraltar's role as a convenient strategic point and an important British military base increased. It barred the passage of enemy ships and was a well-defended base for the regrouping of transatlantic convoys and a supplies and repairs harbour for ships. It was from here that Operation Torch was launched on the night of November 7, 1942—the landing of Anglo-American troops on the African coast.

The key significance of the strait for domination over the Mediterranean was duly assessed by the top men in the Third Reich. Secret documents found in nazi archives prove that Hitler was hatching plans to seize the Rock and only the victories of the Soviet Army on the Eastern Front forced him to abandon the idea.

The British colonial empire began to fall apart after the end of the war. In the Mediterranean area Cyprus won independence in 1960, and Malta four years later. This enhanced the importance of Gibraltar to London. Notwithstanding Spain's renewed activities Britain had no intention of giving up the Rock.

Spain appealed to the U.N. Special Committee on Decolonization (the Committee of 24) with a request to reconsider the question of Gibraltar. In 1963 the U.N. recognized Gibraltar as a territory not exempt from the implications of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The issue has been repeatedly discussed at the U.N. General Assembly which has urged Great Britain to put an end to the Rock's colonial status, and the governments of Great Britain and Spain to reach a mutually acceptable solution.

Under pressure of world public opinion, Great Britain was forced to agree to negotiate; however, the first meetings with the Spanish delegation showed that London did not intend to give up its military base voluntarily. Moreover, in September 1967 the British government held a referendum in Gibraltar. The overwhelming majority of the population voted for autonomy in free association with Great Britain. The results of the voting were influenced by a number of factors. First of all, the referendum was conducted under a colonial regime, with a contingent of British troops and a large number of British subjects present at the base. A decisive part was also played by the fact that the colony's economy is almost completely oriented towards the metropolitan country and that over the years of its presence on Gibraltar British imperialism has strived to imbue the local population with its own ideas, morals and way of life. Finally—and this is particularly important—the results of the referendum were affected by the distaste of the Gibraltarians for the fascist dictatorship of Franco.

In August 1969 the Queen "granted" a constitution to Gibraltar: self-government under the supervision of a British military governor. The British authorities included in the preamble to the constitution a clause that gives them a free hand even today. This clause says that no other state may rule Gibraltar against the will of its people.

Madrid acknowledged neither the results of the referendum nor this

constitution. Franco closed the border between Gibraltar and Spain, forbade marine, ferry or air traffic, stopped telegraph and telephone communications and recalled the Spanish consul. An enormous iron lock was mounted on the gate between the Rock and the neighbouring Spanish town of La Linea, symbolizing that the border had been hermetically sealed.

This was the beginning of the complete blockade of Gibraltar.

Results of Isolation

The Franco regime expected that isolation would force the people of Gibraltar and, in the final analysis, the British, to compromise, but these expectations were not borne out. Not only did the population of Gibraltar fail to exert any pressure on Great Britain—their ties with it became even stronger.

What first meets the eye when one visits Gibraltar (besides the military base there is a town of the same name) is how British it looks. You see bobbies on the beat, red telephone booths and mailboxes and, as the symbol of supreme patriotism, British national flags — Union Jacks — flutter overhead. The radio, press and TV, the entire school system (there is no university in Gibraltar) are called upon to create an illusion of indissoluble unity with the Britain. In an interview given to the Swiss newspaper Tribune de Genève, the Chief Minister of Gibraltar Sir Joshua Hassan admitted that the people, of course, might look like Andalusians, but this, he said, was superficial, as their upbringing and temperament were of an entirely English character.

But, above all, Gibraltar's economy is completely dependent on London. It rests on three "whales": profits derived from the operation of the Naval and Air Force base, revenues from tariffs for using the artificial harbour and the port facilities for mooring and refuelling transit ships, and also profits from tourism and trade.

The housing problem is very severe on the Rock, since only two thirds of the tiny territory is suitable for building. Furthermore, over half the area is occupied by British Defence Ministry installations. Construction is extremely expensive, while the drive of contracting firms for profits leads to an unrestrained rise in rents.

European Powder Keg

It is symptomatic that during their talks on the future of Gibraltar neither London nor Madrid ever raised the question of closing down the military base. Spain demanded sovereignty over Gibraltar and was ready to leave the military installations in the hands of Great Britain. In its turn, London, striving to retain Gibraltar at any price, stated its readiness to make concessions on secondary matters.

But Spain, as well as Britain, has plans for the region that are far from innocent. On the opposite coast, in Morocco, there are two Spanish enclaves—Ceuta and Melilla. Their strategic interest for Spain is the same as that of Gibraltar for London. Madrid refuses to hand them over to their rightful owner and reckons that with control of the military base on the Rock it will have complete command of the Strait of Gibraltar.

And what about Washington? Having declared the Mediterranean, the southern part of the Black Sea and the Black Sea straits to be a "South European theatre of military operations" located in the bloc's "zone of responsibility," NATO strategists attach supreme importance to Gibraltar. They look upon it as a key that will permit them, in the event of a conflict, to control the Mediterranean. The NATO High Command does not exclude the possibility of using nuclear weapons, notably, deep-water missiles for fighting submarines. The Rock of Gibraltar is saturated with the most up-to-date weapons.

The general public in the Mediterranean countries are greatly troubled by Great Britain's refusal to answer the question of whether nuclear weapons or their components have been installed on the Rock.

Meanwhile, the long-term, unsuccessful talks on Gibraltar go on. On February 5, 1985, the British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe, and his Spanish opposite number Fernando Moran Lopez met in Geneva. The day before there occurred what Western journalists called a "historic" event: the gate dividing Gibraltar and the town of La Linea was opened. Thus, the almost sixteen-year-old blockade of Gibraltar was lifted. At the talks concrete, albeit secondary, problems were discussed. The discussion of the cardinal problem of the restoration of Spanish rule to Gibraltar was put off till the next meeting of the Ministers, planned for December of last year in Madrid. But no progress was achieved at this meeting, either.

The government of Felipe Gonzalez is not averse to using the NATO lever. Playing, on the one hand, on the national feelings of Spaniards and trying to instil in them the idea that the problem of Gibraltar could best of all be solved within the framework of NATO, the ruling circles in Spain have forged close links between their country and the "Atlantic Commonwealth." On the other hand, Madrid is counting on using Gibraltar as a trump card to achieve most-favoured-nation status. Aware that NATO ardently wished to draw Spain not only into the bloc's political, but also into its military organization, the Spanish Minister for Defence, Narcis Serra, stated, immediately after the referendum on Spain's membership of the alliance, that his country would not take this step until its sovereignty over Gibraltar had been restored. After their victory in the parliamentary elections in June the leadership of the Socialist Workers' Party of Spain declared that they would try to achieve the return of Gibraltar.

The presence of a powerful military base on Gibraltar by no means helps to increase the security of the Mediterranean area. The interests of all the countries in the region would be best served by the implementation of the proposals put forward by the non-aligned countries, whereby the Mediterranean Sea should be a zone of stable peace and cooperation. The U.S.S.R. firmly supports these proposals and is ready to make a substantial contribution to the solution of the problem. Let us recall the Soviet proposals, which still stand, on the spread in this region of coordinated measures of trust—the reduction of armed forces, the banning of vessels carrying nuclear weapons, and an end to their installation on the territories of non-nuclear states.

R. PECHNIKOVA

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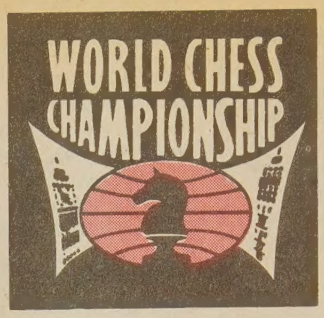
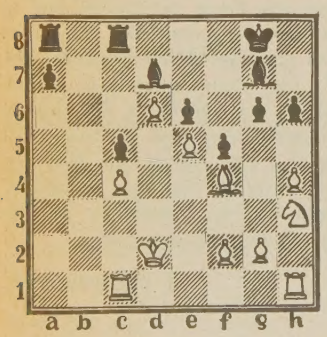
The Time-Limit Drama



No two games of the five played during the second and third weeks of the Kasparov—Karpov return match in London were alike. True, in the fourth game, won by the reigning world champion, there were no particularly intricate moves, even though it was characterized by stubborn competition. Taking advantage of Karpov's passive opening, Kasparov captured the initiative, advanced a pawn on his flank and tried to queen. Though the game was adjourned, Karpov, playing Black, realized after analyzing the situation at leisure that White's pawn was unstoppable and resigned without resuming the game.

However, in the fifth game Karpov, now playing White, opened boldly with a contemporary version of the Gruenfeld defence, obliging Kasparov to lay all his cards on the table, so to say. He adhered to classical theory which advocates a well-concentrated group of pawns in the middle of the board. The game reached its high point after White's 20th move.



On the board one can see Black's advancing pawn on the OR file. The standard assessment is that energetic counteraction from White must be taken to prevent Black queening. One could suggest a variety of moves. You can imagine the amazement with which newsmen covering the match and no doubt Kasparov himself saw Karpov move his piece away from the Black pawn! With his superb 20th move of king to Kt-3 Karpov showed that he couldn't care less for his opponent's pawn and that he didn't intend to manoeuvre along the neighbouring file either. He seemed to have stayed clear of 16 of the board's 64 squares for the time being.

Whether the world champion realized the tragic fate that would overtake his advancing pawn is something I do not know; at any rate he had moved it forward in the hope of queening. Totally ignoring it, White manoeuvred his pieces within a narrow defile. Observers were still in the dark. The moment of truth came suddenly like a ray of sunshine through dark clouds. With forceful moves by his rook, White halted Black's pawn, surrounded it, and dispatched his knight against it. The world champion resigned, the score now equalizing at 2.5 points to each contender.

Discomfited, Kasparov availed himself of his first time out to recover.

The sixth game which used the Russian opening, ended in a draw on the 42nd move.

In the seventh game, both Karpov and Kasparov found themselves — for the first time in the course of this match—in a time-limit situation, with both performing brilliantly.

For the chess player the sense that time is running out is extremely tense and stressful. But the audience have come not to see the impeccable application of one or other classical exercise, as they can find all that in the hundreds of books on this absorbing game, but for the vicarious thrill of watching the brilliant moves and amazing blunders and the emotion-packed anguish at what to do in a given situation when time is running out. This makes a wonderful spectacle, an extravaganza for myriads of chess fans, for whom even a world championship is merely a game designed to delight them.

By the 40th move, the last specified time limit, the position on the board was seen as a drawn game, and hence the opponents decided not to resume after adjournment.

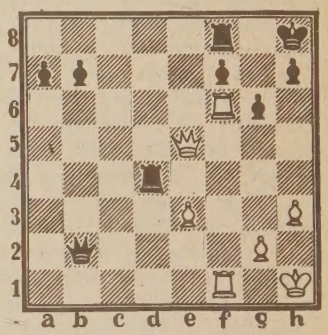
The eighth game began rather serenely, with the two players repeating the opening moves of their previous game, but from opposite sides. Whereas Kasparov was now rather restrained, Karpov was, I would say, somewhat impudent. Clearly the board was again the arena for a psychological clash between two personalities of champion rank. Evidently Karpov, spoiled by his endless victories, cannot get used to the obtaining balance of forces and, out to regain lost positions sooner, unconsciously abandons the strategic rules he usually so deeply reveres. In short, he seems to be playing against himself, for otherwise how can one explain his hasty decision to yield to Kasparov the attacking position the world champion loves?

Although Karpov captured an extra pawn his position was hazardous. However, I am forced to observe that he put up a brilliant defence.

The high point came with White's 22nd move. Though Kasparov could have sacrificed a pawn to take Black's rook with his bishop, he chose other options, undoubtedly taking into account the time limit under which both were labouring. Exchanging several pieces, he created a series of threats in the direct vicinity of Black's king. By that time Karpov had only eight minutes in which to make the remaining moves. Kasparov, meanwhile, had 16 minutes at his disposal. He had just made his 26th move, placing his knight in a very strong position.

In this highly dramatic situation Karpov was rather profligate of the time at his disposal and missed White's unexpected 30th move. Time was up before he had made his 31st move and in accordance with the international rules of chess the chief referee Lothar Schmidt duly recorded that he had lost.

But time limit or not, it was already plain that Black had lost the game.



With his last move White had taken Black's knight with his queen and was threatening to take Black's rook with his pawn. All that Black could do at his 31st move was to take his rook away and this resulted in a series of moves that enabled White's pawn to move up and White's rook to check Black's king, placing Black in a desperate situation.

As the fourth week of the return match began, Kasparov was one point ahead, with the score standing at 4.5 to 3.5.

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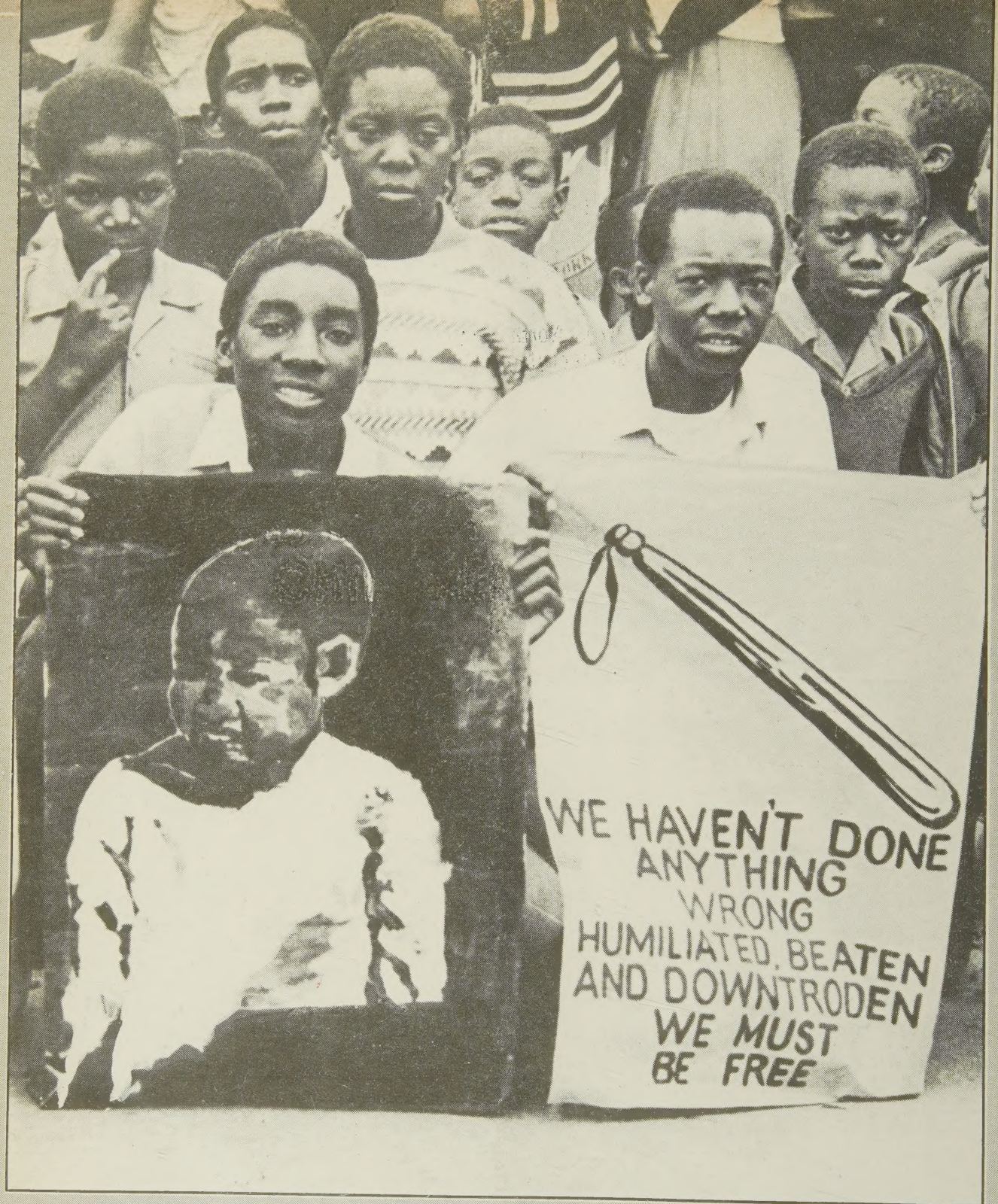

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